

THE MADRAS REVIEW

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

EDITED BY C. SANKARAN NAIR.

~~~~~  
FEBRUARY, 1897.  
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CONTENTS.

Page.

| | |
|---|-----|
| I. INDIA'S MILITARY FRONTIER. By Capt. A. Banon. | 1 |
| II. PROVINCIAL FINANCE. | 9 |
| III. Mr. BALFOUR'S FOUNDATIONS OF BELIEF. .. | 32 |
| IV. THE EURASIAN PROBLEM. By A. P. S. | 52 |
| V. THE PLACE OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA. By N. Vaithianadhan. | 62 |
| VI. HWEN-THSANG: THE CHINESE PILGRIM. By Ramanatha Iyer, M. A. | 77 |
| VII. INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN MODERN INDIA. By G. A. Natasen. | 93 |
| VIII. MARRIAGE LEGISLATION IN TRAVANCORE. .. | 106 |

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CONTENTS.

Page.

| | | |
|---|----------------------------|-----|
| I. COMMERCIAL MORALITY IN MADRAS. | | |
| | By S. R. M. | 115 |
| II. KALIDASA. | By S. Sitarama Sastri. | 124 |
| III. THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO. | By V. Kanakasabhai Pillai. | 139 |
| IV. THE GOLD NECKLACE—A TALE OF INDIA. | By B. V. Kamesvara Aiyar. | 149 |
| V. INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA. | By C. | 171 |
| VI. THE MAPPILLA PROBLEM. | | |
| | By C. Karunakara Menon. | 180 |
| VII. PRISON LIFE IN MADRAS. | | |
| | By P. Chinnaswami. | 196 |
| VIII. WOMEN IN ANCIENT INDIA. | | 210 |
| IX. FEMALE WORSHIP IN THE EAST. | | 217 |
| X. WARREN HASTINGS. | By R. B. Lenahan. | 222 |

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~~~~~  
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## CONTENTS.

|                                                           | Page.                      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| I. MYSORE, ITS PAST AND PRESENT.                          |                            |
|                                                           | By C. 227                  |
| II. NATIVE AGENCY IN NATIVE STATES.                       |                            |
|                                                           | By an Indian. 246          |
| III. SAKUNTALA.                                           | By S. Sitarama Sastri. 251 |
| IV. GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA.                       |                            |
|                                                           | By S. Sathianadhan. 262    |
| V. THE WIDOW MARRIAGE MOVEMENT IN THE<br>DECCAN.          | By Y. S. Vavikar. 275      |
| VI. RELIGIOUS RIOTS ; THEIR CAUSES AND THEIR<br>REMEDIES. | 282                        |
| VII. THE COMING REFORM.                                   |                            |
|                                                           | By G. Subramania Iyer. 295 |
| VIII. THE "RAGUVAMSA OF KALIDASA"                         |                            |
|                                                           | By T. V. Anantan Nair. 309 |
| IX. AGRICULTURAL BANKS FOR MADRAS.                        | 321                        |

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# THE MADRAS REVIEW

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## CONTENTS.

Page.

|                                               |          |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------|
| I. OUR REFORMED LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.          |          |
| By C. Karunakara Menon, B.A.                  | 337      |
| II. ALTRUISM : ITS ORIGIN AND DESTINY.        |          |
| By A. Subramanya Aiyar.                       | 352      |
| III. THE USE TO INDIA OF HER RESIDENT, &c.    |          |
| By Frederic Rowlandson, B.A., LL.B.           | 372      |
| IV. THE UNREST IN INDIA,                      | By S.    |
| V. THE TAMILS, &c. By V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, | 383      |
| B.A., B.L.                                    | 390      |
| VI. LIBERAL EDUCATION. By G. Subramania Iyer, |          |
| B.A.                                          | 402      |
| VII. A TALE OF HINDU LIFE.                    | By Kopi. |
| VIII. HINDUISM IN ITS THREE ASPECTS.          | 411      |
|                                               | 424      |

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# THE MADRAS REVIEW

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## INDIA'S MILITARY FRONTIER.

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AS long as England holds command of the sea English dominion in India is secure against every power, except Russia. Therefore no attention need be paid to any other part of the Indian frontier, from a military point of view, than where a Russian Invasion is possible. It is generally supposed that we have now a scientific military frontier, but this is very far from being the case. Broadly speaking a Russian Invasion of India is only possible through Afghanistan, and the countries under the rule of the Ameer of Cabul. This then is the weak point in the defence of India against Russia ; that so much depends upon the Afghans, a people notorious through Asia for their savagery and Punic faith. Anglo-Indian official optimism has the most serene belief in the fidelity of the Ameer, Abdur Rahman ; quite oblivious of the fact that every Afghan looks forward to the day when the lost provinces of Cashmere and the Panjab will be once more regained after a successful war against the English Infidel. So great has been the infatuated belief of the Indian Government in the good faith of the Ameer, that by means of money, arms, and other subsidies, they have almost made Abdur Rahman the arbiter of the

destinies of India. All this while enlightened public opinion in India knows for certain that Russia has only to offer the Afghans Cashmere and the Panjab, to draw the whole nation to their side as allies in war. The blind infatuation of the Indian Foreign Office is all the greater in as much the Ameer has never concealed his real sentiments towards us. His whole reign has been characterised by an uniform series of unfriendly acts. Every frontier trouble, more especially Waziristan and Chitral, has been instigated by him. While destroying the trade of India with Afghanistan by monopolies and exactions, he has favored trade with Russia. Directly we closed one door into India against Russia at Chitral, he has opened another, an easier and shorter one, through Kafiristan. Every gift from us he has accepted as so much black mail. The only one astute move made by the Indian Foreign Office was in sheltering Ayoob Khan; and probably that was done more from necessity than choice. The custody of Ayoob Khan is the only hold we have on the very dubious friend to whom we have consigned the key to the defence of India against Russia.

The initial mistake made was in the invasion of Afghanistan before we were ready for it. The discredit of this insane proceeding must be divided between Lords Lytton and Beaconsfield. Before the end of the XXth Century it will be a matter of wonderment to the then English nation how their fore-fathers ever allowed themselves to be so illusioned and hypnotised by that Arch Charlatan and Mountebank, Benjamin D'Israeli. Even now, we are beginning to have an inkling of the truth when the results of the insane Cyprus Convention are being brought home to us in the matter of Armenia. Lord Lytton invaded Afghanistan without the least idea of what he was going to do next. When at last he had the pig by the ears no one was more unprepared for the natural consequences. One would have supposed the lessons of the first Afghan War had been taken to heart; but not so, for every folly of the First Afghan War was repeated in the Second, less than forty years afterwards. So desperate were the fortunes of the Indian Government in 1880 that the fate of India hung in the balance. Every demand and stipulation advanced by Abdur Rahman had to be conceded by the Indian Government. These things have been forgotten at Simla, but they have not been forgotten at Caubul.

Again in 1885 the Indian Government were once more unprepared for war and had to pocket the affront of Penjdeh, which they were helpless to avenge. All these things help to explain the policy of the Ameer since then towards the Indian Government.

The military strength of India has increased since the Penjdeh scare, but it is still far from sufficient to ensure us safety. The reason is not far to seek. The Government of India is a government of officials, by officials for officials; that is a government of official mediocrities, living from hand to mouth, without foresight, content with the present day. India is a veritable paradise for official mediocrities and non-entities, all banded together in defence of the loaves and fishes of office. What therefore does it matter to these official lotus eaters, that one half of the Native Army of India is quite unfit to put into line against Russian troops. Doubtless Lord Roberts and Sir George White are Gullivers among the Lilliputians of Simla; but Gulliver in turn became a dwarf in Brogdinag. The ogre most dreaded at Simla is Lord Wolseley; for the officials of Lilliput very shrewdly suspect that he would play Cain with their little tin gods and break their military play-things. What an unanimous and interested official howl went from one end of Anglo-India to the other, when Lord Wolseley spoke a few plain truths about the unfit half of the Indian Native Army. For a day, at least, the abominated Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji went near to being idolised for his tantrums on that historic occasion. And yet the most pressing need of India from a military point of view, is that, Lord Wolseley be appointed Viceroy of India for a period of at least ten years, with full powers to put the Indian Army on a thoroughly workmanlike footing.

A War with Russia would be very popular with the Indian Services, who anticipate a military picnic across the Border and victories on the Caspian. But have they counted the cost? It is always supposed the Ameer and his Afghans would be our very faithful allies on the occasion. Have they ever thought what the problem would become with the Afghan Army siding with Russia and all eager for the loot of India? Again, it is always supposed that the invading Russian Army would make one wild headlong rush for the Indus. Is this so certain? Suppose the Afghans faithful to their alliance with us, but also suppose the Russians choosing

adopt Fabian tactics? As things stand at present, within one month hostilities commence, the Russians will have possessed themselves of Herat and Afghan Tarkestan ; where, to some extent, they would find themselves in a friendly country. Making Northern and Western Afghanistan their base, drawing their supplies from a weak and friendly Persia, they could attract to their standards and train all the disaffected elements in Afghanistan hostile to the Ameer. Instead of advancing they could carry on a guerilla war with fire and sword, making our alliance worthless to the Afghans. What are we to do in such a case? According to pre-arranged plans we should have occupied Candahar and Jellalabad, to await there the Russian advance. What is our next move to be, if the Russians will not obligingly attack us in our carefully chosen and strongly fortified positions? But instead, systematically ravage the whole country in front of us with fire and sword, disgusting our Afghan allies with a power that cannot protect them in their own homes? How long under these circumstances would the Afghans remain in alliance with us? Then if we advance in force to drive the Russians out of Afghanistan, we shall be playing their game and giving them every military advantage in the struggle. As things stand at present the Russians have only to occupy Northern and Western Afghanistan, and they can occupy these comparatively friendly districts, without firing a shot, to compel us to make any terms they like. For what can we really do? We can only stand fast at Candahar and Jellalabad, all the while incurring a military expenditure of lakhs daily, and bankrupting our every resource, material, financial, and military. For us to attempt to drive the Russians out of Herat, under present conditions would be a physical impossibility, fraught with annihilation. The truth can be told now, but the fate of the Indian Empire hung trembling in the balance, while Ayoob Khan was besieging Candahar ; and we were at the end of our resources, in men and material in 1880. As things are, the military resources of India are just about sufficient to wage a successful war with the Ameer of Caubul, and to impose our own terms on the Afghans. By going to war with Russia, under present conditions, we should be only rushing headlong to destruction. For Russia, by playing a waiting game, could bleed us to death, morally, materially, financially. The sources of our present weakness

are, the want of reserves in officers and men, and the want of carriage. One of the defects of British Rule is that it emasculates the manhood of the populations over which it holds sway. It is only from our frontiers and Northern India that we can now recruit races that are fit put in line against Russian troops. Few as our serviceable and available troops are, they have no reserves behind them of officers and men. In 1878-80 we failed in Afghanistan from want of carriage and from want of men. We had swept all Northern, Central, and Western India clean of every beast of burden. We were offering fifty rupees bounty, an enormous sum for India, for recruits, and could not get them, for service across the frontier, even at that price. These things have been forgotten now-a-days, though similar difficulties will again encounter us in our next big war across the frontier. Even after an interval of nearly twenty years the country has not yet recovered the loss of the beasts of burden in the Afghan War. Last year there was not transport enough for even the small Chitral Expedition; while this same Border raid showed what an enormous demand a big war would make on our reserves of officers and men. If the Afghan War and the Chitral Expedition have proved any one thing it is that the most urgent necessity exists for a Railway Battalion in the Indian Army, in order that light railways may successfully supplement our deficiencies in transport. Though a Railway Battalion is a matter of life and death to the Army of India, there is no hope of such a useful body of men being embodied at the present time. We shall enter on the next big Border War as unprepared as we were in 1878, and with as light a heart born of ignorance and conceit.

The present times are very critical, for we are on the eve of another Afghan War, which promises to be a much bigger business than any of its predecessors. Before we begin let us know exactly what we want, and what we are going to do. If we are to have another Afghan War, we must emerge from it with our North West frontier made secure against any Russian aggression, offensive or defensive. We do not want to make an enemy of Russia, for Russia and France are the only two powers in the world that can harm us, and so plainly marked out as friends from necessity. We should come to a mutually profitable arrangement with Russia and France and divide Asia and Africa between us. Afghan Turkestan, with an

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Usbek population, should by every ethnological right belong to Russia ; and to Russia we should hand it over. The Hindu Khush is the only satisfactory and scientific frontier between India and Central Asia, which now is Russian. An Afghan Ameer there must be at Caubul, but a chastened Ameer that will recognise his own powerlessness. We cannot again have an Ameer like Abdur Rahman whose present inflated vanity endangers the safety of India. *Salus Republicae, suprema lex.* Where the wellbeing of 300 millions of the human race are concerned the absurd pretensions of a barbarous savage and his uncouth subjects must be ruthlessly brushed aside.

The greater part of India has become so emasculated that for all administrative purposes no army is required in addition to an efficient police force. We have now four Army Corps, we could do equally well with two. With the necessary amount of reductions the three Army Corps of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras might be rolled into one. Not more than one big Military Cantonment is required for all Madras, that at Secunderabad. For Bombay, in like manner, but one at Poonah. For Bengal not more than three, at Lucknow, Jhansi and Meerut. The rest of the Indian Army should be cantoned in the Panjab and across the Indus. There are certain strategical points in Afghanistan we must hold in great force, by fortified standing camps with garrisons from ten to twenty thousand men at each. Jellalabad is one such, which must be protected by outlying forts, and connected by railway with Peshawar. Then we require to link up our Indian Railway system with the Russian Central Asian Railway system through Candahar and Herat. Beluchistan must be provided with strategic military railways. Our proper and strongest base is the sea ; and that we must strategically use for the defence of India. Beluchistan, properly forested and irrigated by canals, would be as rich as any province in India. We want a good harbour on the Persian Gulf, Gwadur, Son Miani, or any other yet to be found as the most convenient and secure for the terminus of a railway to run to Herat. It goes without saying that we must have a strongly fortified position at Herat with a garrison of twenty thousand men. At Candahar another fortified camp, and a garrison nearly as large. Between Candahar and Herat, protecting the railway, smaller fortified places and garrisons would be

necessary. For every Regiment disbanded in India proper, another must be raised from among the mutually warring tribes of Afghanistan. The Afghans proper are outnumbered by other hostile races, such as Hazarahs and Parsiwans. In our Native Army we must only have those men whom we can place in line against Russian troops. Afghanistan is perhaps the best recruiting ground for such men.

It may be objected that the linking up of our Indian lines of railway with those of Russia in Central Asia would only facilitate an invasion of India. So far from this being the case it would compel the Russians to attack us from that side of India on which we were strongest. A railway, and the possession of Herat, would enable us to assume the offensive at will, which now we can by no possibility do. That defence, which can never assume the offensive, when necessary, is doomed in the end. The possession and proper utilisation of these three points, Candhar, Jellalabad, and Herat, can alone ensure a successful defence of India against Russian Invasion. The necessity of Jellalabad is that it enables us to guard all the passes, debouching into India, with which the Hindu Khush is honeycombed. Holding Jellalabad and Candahar in great force we are enabled to prevent any Russian Army passing into India between these two places. The possession of Herat enables us to prevent the Russian occupation of Western Afghanistan, which would give them a secure base from which to operate against India. These three places, Herat, Candahar and Jellalabad, form the keys of India, and must therefore remain in our keeping. Peshawar and the Kuram Valley are mere *cul de sacs*, forming only death-traps to the armies occupying them. A defensive position, from which the offensive cannot be readily taken, is worse than useless.

It may be objected that the scientific Frontier for India herein roughly sketched out would prove too expensive. While admitting the great expense it may be questioned whether it is more expensive than present and past arrangements. The last Afghan war cost us twenty millions. Ten millions and more have been sunk in the Quetta sands. To take but one instance of the foolish waste of money by military advisers in quite recent years we have the nine forts round Rawal Pindi built by Lord Roberts, but since condemned by Sir George White as worse than useless. Now a real

THE MADRAS REVIEW.

Scientific Frontier for India is cheap, whatever the cost, for it saves the 300 millions of India from the horrors and lossess of War. If England must fight for the mastery of India with Russia, it is better on every count, and cheaper, that the contest be decided in the wilds of Afghanistan, than upon the peaceful plains of India. Then, however heavy the permanent expenditure for a real Scientific Frontier, it is an expenditure incurred only once and for all time. Whereas now, there is no end to the annual expenditure on Frontier expeditions. caused by an indefensible frontier, and occasional panics and hurried preparations, costing millions, as in 1885 with the Panjdeh Scare. The expenditure on a real Scientific Frontier is really but a form of insurance, and after all no amount of expenditure is too great as an insurance against a great war and the devastation of Hindustan. If India were really strong, in a military sense, behind a real Scientific Frontier, Russia would give up all idea of invading India, as an insane project, leading only to disaster.

In November of the year, 1896, we were within an ace of a Third Afghan War. That conflict has only been postponed. Unless the Ameer Abdur Rahman dies in the meanwhile, another Afghan War is certain in the very near future. We cannot escape the inevitable, but we should be prepared for it, and in this present breathing time, before the coming conflict with the Ameer, let us deliberately settle, what it is exactly we must have. Nothing can be more undignified than our seizing the Afghan pig by the ears, like Lord Lytton, without knowing what we are going to do with him afterwards.

KULU KANGRA—PANJAB

2-12-96.

A. BANON.

PROVINCIAL FINANCE.

THE period of the current Provincial Contract expires with this official year, and we understand that the terms of the next contract are under the consideration of our Government and the Government of India. Only a few of our readers are apparently aware of the nature of these so-called contracts and the objects hoped to be achieved by the great Viceroys who initiated the scheme. To Lord Mayo must be given the credit of laying the foundations on which Lord Ripon has built a noble structure. When Mayo came to India, he found that the finances of India were in a chaotic condition. The estimates were generally not in accord with the actual facts. In 1866-67 the budget estimate showed a deficit of £ 72,800, the real deficit turning out to be two millions and a half. In 1867-68 a surplus of £ 1,764,479 was budgeted for, the result being a deficit of one million. In 1868-69 a surplus of upwards of 2 millions was budgeted for, but a deficit of nearly 2 millions occurred. The three years preceding Lord Mayo's first budget therefore left an aggregate deficit of about 5 millions and a half and the estimates as compared with the results had proved wrong to the extent of over nine millions. This deficit was for ordinary expenditure alone, and including the outlay on extraordinary public works, the total deficit is given in the official statements at £ 12,054,016 (at 2s. per rupee). We are not now concerned with the steps which Lord Mayo took successfully to prevent a deficit in that particular year. We propose to notice the measures he adopted to bring about a permanent equilibrium between the revenue and the expenditure of India. His reforms divide themselves into three branches. "First, improvements in the mechanism of the Financial Department of the Supreme Government itself. Lord Mayo thought that it would be useless to ask Local Governments to set their houses in order, if they could point to confusion or want of prevision in his own. Second, the more rigid enforcement on the Local Governments of accuracy in framing their estimates and of economy in keeping within them. While thus increasing their fiscal responsibility, Lord Mayo also extended their financial powers. Third, a

systematic and permanent re-adjustment of the revenues and the expenditure." It is not necessary for us to deal with the first in detail. It is on the second great branch of his reform that we must bestow careful attention. Apart from the defects that existed in the mechanism of the Financial Department of the Government of India which he soon remedied, Lord Mayo found that his great difficulty lay in his relations with the Provincial Governments. Those Governments were entrusted with the civil administration and the improvement of their several provinces without giving them any financial control or responsibility while the Supreme Government undertook the entire distribution of the funds needed for the public service throughout India. At the end of every year, each local Government submitted its estimates of expenditure for the coming 12 months and after a comparison of all these estimates with the expected revenue, the Viceroy granted to each local Government such sums as could be spared ; naturally, therefore, the Provincial Governments were not allowed to incur any new expenditure, however small, or even to re-adjust old expenditure. They were not at liberty to spend upon one of its services any money they may have saved from grants for another service and any unexpended portion of the grant usually lapsed to the Imperial Treasury. The sanction of the Imperial Government was thus necessary for the employment of any official, however small his pay ; for any work of improvement, any road, any building, however insignificant.

Thus the result was that the local Governments interested in the welfare of their provinces tried to secure as much as they could out of the Imperial Treasury. The Supreme Government without adequate knowledge of local circumstances but having regard to general financial safety always tried to cut down the Provincial demands as much as possible. There were thus frequent conflicts of opinion. Naturally, the wants of the Provincial Governments were generally legitimate, as there is no limit to progress, and the difficulty of resisting their increasing demands was one main cause of chronic deficit in the financial condition of India. To place a check upon the expenditure of the Local Governments, to induce them to spend only what was absolutely required, Lord Mayo divided the administration into two great services. For the economical management of one of these he made the Local Government directly

responsible. For its cost he made a fixed yearly consolidated grant not liable to reduction except under exceptional circumstances. The distribution of such income was left to the discretion of each Government, any saving from the grant not reverting to the Imperial Treasury. The original fixed grant was naturally based on the then actual expenditure under the heads transferred. Thus in 1860-71 the following services were placed under the control of Local Governments (1) Jails, (1) Registration, (3) Police, (4) Education ; (5) Printing ; (6) Medical Services ; (7) Roads (8) Civil buildings and various Public Works ; (9) Miscellaneous public improvements. For their cost the estimated receipts under the first six of these heads and an adjusting grant were sanctioned. But as the Imperial Exchequer then required relief a ratable reduction was made. Thus for Madras, grants on account of the above heads of the service were

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|----------------|
| ... | ... | ... | Rs. 87,67,000. |
| Estimated receipts under the above heads | ... | | 8,18,000 |
| Net Charges (actual assignment) | ... | ... | 79,49,000 |
| Reduction for the relief of the Imperial Exchequer | | | 5,54,000 |
| Net permanent assignment | ... | ... | 73,95,000 |

Subsequently, certain additions were made to the provincialized heads of service the permanent assignments being on such transfer raised to meet such cost.

We have already stated that the Local Government was authorised to distribute the annual assignment as they considered fit and any savings effected in the allotments or increase in receipts could be made available for provincial purposes. In 1877 an extension of the existing provincial arrangement was proposed by the Government of India, to the various Local Governments but Madras declined to be a party to such scheme and continued therefore under the arrangements of 1871. The next great change so far as Madras was concerned was introduced in 1882 in the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. It will be observed that in the arrangement of 1871 no large share of revenue was assigned to the Local Government and that therefore there was no stimulus for the development of revenue as the Local Government did not derive any immediate benefit from its increase. Another defect was that the items of the revenue transferred were inelastic as the income of such departments as Jails, Registration, Police, Education, Printing and Medical Services cannot be expected

to vary considerably, while the expenditure on some of those items like education and police was likely to rise from year to year. The arrangement therefore undoubtedly called for modification. In 1882 therefore after reserving certain heads of revenue as imperial, others were divided in certain proportions between the Imperial and Local Governments; while certain others were made wholly provincial. Similarly the cost of certain great heads of expenditure was provincialised. The balance being against the Local Government a fixed percentage of land revenue was assigned by the India Government sufficiently large to make up the deficiency. Thus as will appear from the table at the end of this article, the receipts from excise, stamp, assessed taxes, registration, forest which Departments are directly under the management of the Local Government were divided under this arrangement equally between Imperial and Provincial. Those from District post, Minor Departments, Law and Justice, Police, Education, Medical, Stationary and Printing, were wholly and those from Marine, Miscellaneous and Public Works almost wholly surrendered to provincial, while land revenue, tributes, customs, salt, interest and superannuations, were reserved to Imperial, except in the case of some minor items. Forests also was afterwards made wholly Provincial. On the other hand the cost of the great heads of expenditure Land revenue and general Administration, were provincialised and the charges of those newly provincialised departments were similarly treated. The fixed percentage of Land revenue assigned to make up the deficiency was 28·8073. The advantage in this arrangement lay in the direct interest acquired by the Local Government in any increase of revenue to the extent of the provincial share which was left solely under their control. As the Local Government had thus to limit their expenditure to a limited scale of income and as any savings effected could wholly be utilised in the interests of their own province, it was expected that there would be greater care and economy and that friction would be avoided between the Supreme Government actuated by desire for economy and the Local Government prompted by zeal for progress. It was also expected that by giving the Local Government for utilization within the Presidency a share in any increase in revenue under certain heads it would be enabled to effect many improvements by judicious and

careful management which would otherwise have been impracticable. More important than all these changes noted in 1882 were the steps taken by Lord Ripon's Government to give effect to the anticipations shadowed forth by Lord Mayo in which the policy of decentralisation was recommended as affording opportunities for securing the assistance of non-official Europeans and Natives to a greater extent than before in the administration of the country and for instructing the people in Self-Government. To this matter we shall refer in detail later on. The hopes entertained above about the expansion of revenue and the administrative improvements were fully justified. During the currency of this contract the total income from the principal heads of revenue, excise, stamps, Registration and Forest increased by about 28 per cent. The provincial balance increased by about 26 lacs and the standard of Provincial annual revenue and expenditure each increased by about 16 lacs or at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum.

The provincial arrangements were revised in the year 1887 and the changes introduced will be seen at a glance in the column of provincial proportion in the table annexed. Instead of making an assignment of a fixed percentage on land revenue to effect equilibrium, a fixed annual allotment of 33 lacs was made by the Imperial to the Provincial Government; while at the same time one fourth of the land revenue was provincialised and the Provincial Government henceforth became entitled to one fourth of the land revenue. Again, the receipts from stamps which were equally divided between Imperial and Provincial Governments were divided in the proportion of 1 to 3, while of the receipts from excise the Provincial Government was given only one fourth. There were certain other charges which need not here be noticed. During the currency of this contract there was a further advance equivalent to 25·5 per cent in the total revenue of Excise, Stamps, Registration and Forest; and the standards both of the provincial and revenue continued to rise as before. The next, that is the current contract was on the same lines as the second with the exception of forest which, wholly provincial before, was made equally divisible between Imperial and Provincial. The advance in the total Revenue of the principal heads was maintained and the standard of expenditure also continued to rise,

The tables which we have given at the end of this article fully explain the great changes and the improvements which have taken place since 1882. A few explanatory facts may not be out of place. Under the contract of 1882 the percentage of land revenue which the Local Government was entitled to receive was 129·92 lacs while it actually realised at an average rate of 134·53 lacs, thus giving an average annual profit of 4·61 or total profit amounting to lacs 23·05. During the period of the second contract, the contract figure was 113·43 for the one fourth share of the land revenue, and the local Government actually realised an average of 117·97 lacs, giving an average annual profit of 4·55 or total profit for the period of 5 years amounting to 22·75. If we reduce the fixed percentage of 28·8073 for the first period (82-87) to 25 per cent for purposes of comparison with the second period, it will be found that the average annual profit of the first period was 4 lacs, while it was 4·55 during the second period. For the current period the contract figure was 121 lacs for the one fourth share ; while our Government realised 131·97 per year gaining an average annual profit of 10·97 lacs or a total profit for the period of 54·88 lacs. Thus for the total period of 15 years it has realised 100 lacs over the contract figure in the land revenue collections alone. Under the head of stamps during the period of 82-87 the contract figure which the Local Government was expected to realise was 27 lacs, while it actually realised 28·20 lacs giving us an annual profit of 1·20 lacs or total profit for the period of lacs 6·00. For the second (quinquennial) period for which the provincial share was increased to three-fourths the contract figure was 43·50 for such share ; while the Government actually realised 47·72 or an average annual profit of 4·22 lacs, giving us the total profit of 21·10 lacs. For the third period when the share continued the same, the contract figure was 49·50 lacs while the Government actually realised 57·92 lacs which gives us an annual profit of 8·42 lacs or total profit of 42·10. The total profit, therefore, for the three periods was 69·20 lacs. In the case of excise for the half share during 82-87 the contract figure was 30·90 lacs we actually realised 38·80 lacs giving us thus an annual profit on the contract of 7·90 lacs or a total profit of 39·50. Our share was reduced for the second period to one-fourth ; the contract figure

being 22 lacs while we actually realised 27·88 lacs, thus giving us an annual average profit of 5·88 lacs or a total profit of 29·40 lacs. For the current period when our share continued the same the contract figure was 30·68 while our Local Government actually realised at an average rate of 33·75 lacs an annual average profit of 3·25 or the total profit for the whole period of 16·25 lacs. Our gain therefore from 82 to 97 is about 85·15 lacs. In the case of assessed taxes for our half share during 82-87 the contract figure was 2·35 lacs, we lost in that period as we actually realised only 2·23 lacs. The share continued the same during the next period of 87-92, the contract figure was 5·60 lacs but we actually realised 87·07 lacs giving us thus an average profit of 2·47 lacs or total profit for the period of lacs 12·35. During the third period with the same share the contract figure was 8·25 lacs, while we actually realised 10·70 lacs, giving us thus only a gain of 2·45 lacs or 12·25 lacs for the entire period. From 82-97 our gain was thus 24 lacs. We shall conclude with the head of Forests. During the first period where the forest revenue was entirely provincial, the contract figure was only 2·40 lacs while our Local Government actually realised at the rate of 10·94, thus giving us a profit of 8·54 lacs a year, or for the period of 5 years the sum of 42·70 lacs. For the second period our contract figure was 13 lacs and we realised 15·87 lacs giving us an annual profit of 2·87 lacs or a profit of 2·87 lacs or a profit of lacs 14·35 for the period. During the period of current contract our share was reduced to half, the contract figure was 9·75 lacs and we realised only 9·51 lacs, thus being a loser. On the whole therefore from 82-87 we have gained to the extent of 56·05 lacs.

The increase of revenue has thus been steady and continuous. The column of total revenue and receipts will show that the contract figure for the period 82-87 was 217·78, while we actually realised at the rate of 242·69, thus making an average annual profit on the contract of 24·91; or in other words while the Local Government were expected to realise 1088·90 lacs for the full period, we actually realised 1213·45 lacs, thus gaining 124·55 for the full period. Similarly in 87-92 while the contract figure was only 256·36 lacs per year we actually realised 1417·90 lacs for 5 years thus gaining 136·10 lacs for the entire period of 5 years. Similarly

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 for the third period 92-97 while the contract figure was only 281·83 lacs to 81·83 per year we are actually expected to realise 1601·25 lacs thus realising 192·10 lacs for the full period of these 5 years. Our total gain therefore for the full period of 82-87 may be taken to be 452·75 lacs.

This enormous sum has been utilised in this presidency with the exception of what has been contributed to the Imperial revenue. It is unnecessary to compare the rate of increase in expenditure for each period as we have done in the case of receipts. Our readers can readily do so from the tables. In the year 1894 when Mr. Bliss made his financial statement he showed that the percentage of increase in expenditure under some of the chief departments has been as follows :—

|                   |     |     |     |       |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| Forest            | ... | ... | ... | 104·9 |
| Registration      | ... | ... | ... | 63·7  |
| Education         | ... | ... | ... | 41·4  |
| Law and Justice.. | ... | ... | ... | 16·5  |
| Land revenue      | ... | ... | ... | 15·9  |
| Police            | ... | ... | ... | 12·5  |

He stated “nor are extra-ordinary items which often represent the most useful classes of expenditure included in these figures. In addition to strengthening and rendering more efficient our establishments under, it may without exaggeration be said, every important head of service, Madras has been able to assign about 13 lacs to the Mayavaram-Muttupet Railway and 8 lacs to the scheme of Municipal water supply and to aid the general finances of India by contributions amounting on the whole to 17 lacs 50,000. That the Presidency should have been in the position to do all this, to have met without appealing for any assistance from Imperial revenues the heavy losses and the increased outlay consequent on a succession of years of scarcity and famine, the direct charges on this account being in excess of 22 lacs and yet to have closed the eleventh year with a surplus to credit of 26 lacs is to my mind a conclusive justification of the provincial system of finance.” We may take it therefore that as between the Government of Madras and India the decentralization of provincial finance has been amply justified, There has been an enormous expansion of revenue ; and a fair share of such increase has been spent in this Presidency.

PART II.

We now propose to deal with a very important question concerning this large income and expenditure.

According to the scheme sketched above, it will appear that Provincial Governments could practically distribute the assignment as they considered fit, that savings effected were at their disposal and that they shared in any increase in revenue. Even where sanction had to be obtained either for re-adjustment or for expenditure of the funds allotted it is clear that the same check is not likely to be exercised by the Government of India as before when every pie saved would go to the credit of that Government. The great authors of the scheme, however, were not unaware of this defect. While fully recognising their own inability to adequately consider and meet the demands of the Local Government, they felt that it was in the interests of economy that there should be some check placed upon the Provincial Governments in the disposal of the funds placed at their disposal. For that check they looked to responsible non-official criticism. Lord Mayo declared that the operation of this resolution in its full meaning and integrity will afford opportunities for the development of Self-Government, for strengthening municipal institutions and for the association of natives and Europeans to a greater extent than heretofore in the administration of affairs, and he called upon all his subordinates to enlist the active assistance or at all events the sympathy of many classes who have hitherto taken little or no part in the work of administration. He directed that the Local Government should publish its yearly estimates in its own gazette together with a financial exposition to be made before the local councils whenever possible. The decentralisation of finance therefore was to go hand in hand with the development of Local Self-Government. The additional powers given to the Provincial Government were to be exercised subject to the criticism of the local Councils. The Viceroy apparently expected that he would be enabled to check the budget of the various Provincial Governments in the light of criticisms that may be so offered. Curiously enough this intention was apparently never attempted to be carried out till the Councils were enlarged after the Indian Councils Act of 1925. But the fact is remarkable and should never be lost sight of in discussing the question

of decentralisation of finance. Lord Ripon attempted a further advance on the same lines in his famous resolution. It was a part of the scheme of Lord Mayo that local taxes are to be raised for local needs, and in the famous resolution of May 1882 Lord Ripon declared that the decentralisation of finance was intimately connected with the development of Local Self-Government, and in addition to the non-official help which was looked for from the non-official members of the Local Legislative Councils as already indicated, the Provincial Government were desired to consider the advisability of handing over to Local Self-Government considerable revenues, subject only to the general remedial control that may be reserved to such Governments. Of course such revenues alone were to be made local as the bodies to whom they are to be entrusted are likely to administer well. He took the trouble to specially emphasise the fact that he did not expect that these local bodies would at first be able to do the work better than if the administration remained in the sole hands of the Government officials. And that it was not with a view to improve the administration that the measure was supported, but that it was put forward as an instrument also of political and popular education, though he expected that in course of time as local knowledge and local interests are brought to bear more freely on local administration, increased efficiency must follow. He did not expect these local bodies to be worked merely as departments under Government officials. The Local Boards both urbane and rural were expected to have a large preponderance of non-official members, and wherever practicable, they were to be chosen by election. The fact therefore in considering the question of decentralisation of finance should never be lost sight of: (1) That the local Governments were not to spend their money at their own discretion without any control or check whatever but that they were to be subject to the criticism of the Local Legislative Councils (2) that funds as far as possible were to be handed over to Local Committees to be composed mainly of non-official members, to be spent by them in such a manner as they might think fit subject only to a general control by the Local Governments. In the discussions that have taken place about decentralization of local finance, in the admirable articles on the subject which have appeared in journals and newspapers, we feel that sufficient

attention has not been paid to this side of the general scheme of which decentralisation of provincial finance forms only a part. Without the successful working of the other part of the scheme, that is, without the development of Local Self-Government, it is not quite clear whether the country would benefit much in any way by the decentralisation alone. It is undoubtedly true that at present each local Government has more money to spend within its own limits. But the same money would otherwise be spent, though outside its borders, within the empire, possibly for the development of the more backward provinces. While therefore, on account of decentralisation alone the Local Government may gain, the other parts of the empire may lose. The real benefit lay in the greater control given to non-officials over the finance separated from the finances directly administered by the Government of India. We have shown how far the Local Governments have benefited by the decentralisation of finance, we are also bound to see whether the people of this country have really benefited by such decentralisation and whether there exists that check over the great spending department, that Control in the increase of revenue which existed before the scheme was brought into force. In so far as the Imperial and Local Self-Governments are concerned, it can be seen from the tables at a glance as we have shown that the local Government has obtained about more than 452 lacs over the contract figure *i.e.*, the amount which were expected to be realized to meet the expenditure. It also affords an indication of the interest which the provincial Government has taken in the increase of revenue. This amount, which the local Government realized by our expansion of revenue, has been spent within this Presidency. In the years 1882 to 1897 therefore this presidency has benefited to that extent. We have also largely contributed to the Imperial Government. Our increase of revenue, and our increase in expenditure due to such increase of revenue have been steady. We will now draw attention to a few of the items.

“LAND REVENUE.”

Under the head of Land Revenue during the first period (1882-87) we realized 23·05 lacs, during the second period we realized 22·74 lacs and during the period of the current contract 54·88 lacs or 100·67 lacs from (1882 to 97) over the contract figure,

This large increase has been spent within this presidency, no doubt in the improvement of the subordinate services and apparently in various other useful ways. But the question that now concerns us and to which we are bound to devote our attention, is whether this increase in land revenue is healthy and whether the expenditure has been wise. For this matter it is necessary to bear in mind that this land revenue consists of various items and the increase is not of course evenly distributed amongst them. To give our readers an idea of the relative importance and of the increase in revenue we shall take the budget estimates of the closing year 96 to 97. The account of any year will serve our purpose equally well.

The provincial share of the Land Revenue is estimated at 134.50 lacs; the total sum shared between the Imperial and Local is therefore 4 times that sum amounting to 538 lacs. This is made up of what are called (1) Land Revenue miscellaneous receipts as Process Service Fees, Rs. 35,400, Fines and forfeitures of Revenue courts Rs. 1,500. Receipts from quarries and minor mineral products Rs. 3,200, Rents of Railway land Rs. 4,600, and receipts of the Survey Department amounting to Rs. 8,200, the total under Land Revenue Miscellaneous coming to Rs. 52,900. (2) Rent &c., of Fisheries expected to realize Rs. 10,000 (3) Sale proceeds of waste land and redemption of land tax estimated at Rs. 1,13,000 and (4) the ordinary land Revenue estimated at Rs. 5,36,24,000. This last item of ordinary Land Revenue consists of (a) Peishcush on Permanently Settled Estates *i. e.*, from Zamindaries, &c.. Rs. 50,46,000 (b) Land Revenue realized from the holders of villages held at favorable rates Rs. 7,38,000 (c) of Ryotwari &c., Revenue Rs. 4,78,40,000. The items *a* and *b* are not capable of much expansion. The great increase, therefore, in Land Revenue during these years of which 100.67 lakhs is our one-fourth share is due to the increase in the revenue paid by the ryots holding Government lands. This will also be clear at once when we notice that in 1891-92, the last year of the preceeding Contract, the income from settled estates amounted to 49,79,25 while the Ryotwar Revenue was only 3,83,19,465. Comparing these with the figures for 96-97 given above we see at once that the great increase has been in the Ryotwari Revenue. In fact the small variations from year to year in Peishcush and Shrotriem Jodi are due to the acquisition of such

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lands for public purposes and to the transfer by Government of lands within their limits to the zemindars &c., on payment of assessment. The increase in the Ryotwari land Revenue is due to (a) the increase of the Revenue demand on lands already paying revenue to Government, (b) to extension of cultivation (c) transfers from Inam to Government and water-rate. More than 50 p. c. we have calculated is due to the first, an increase, which we must confess we do not contemplate with satisfaction. About 14 p. c. alone is due to extension of cultivation and it is to be noted that this increase takes place even in years of unfavorable season, and when cultivation could in no event be expected to pay.

We ask our readers now to consider whether there exists even such check on any unhealthy expansion of Revenue as existed before the days of the Provincial contract. In those days when the Provincial Government did not expect to share in any increase in the land revenue they were not directly intrested in its expansion. But being in greater touch with the people in their own Presidency they sympathised with the hardships felt by the ryot in any such increase and they were therefore more willing to listen to the complaints of the ryots against any increase in the assessment. A perusal of the land revenue reports and of such correspondence as are accessible to us between the Governments of India and of Madras inclines us to come to the conclusion that in the older days the Government of Madras was more determined in their opposition to the demands of the Government of India for settlement and revisions of settlement. We do not see we confess that same resistance to increasing the burdens on the people which are visible in the older records of this Government. Has this anything to do with the temptation held out to the provincial Government to share in increase in the revenue? We hesitate to arrive at such a conclusion but the fact is noticeable. Hence it is obviously necessary that when both Local and Imperial Governments are thus directly interested in the increase of revenue, some opportunity should be afforded to non-official bodies or persons for criticism and we have no doubt that when it was declared that finance statements are to be placed before the Local Legislative Councils, it was intended that non-official members

should have an opportunity of pointing out whether in their opinion any increase in revenue is unsatisfactory. Such opportunity does not now exist.

#### EXCISE.

Under the head of Excise also we see a large increase of revenue. The provincial share is only one-fourth and that share was estimated at 30·50 per year. For the five years of the period, therefore, the estimated amount is 152·50 lakhs while the Provincial Government expect to realize 168·73 gaining to the extent of over 16 lakhs. The revenue consists of

|       |                                                                                                            |     |     |     |            |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| (i)   | License and Distillery duties for the sale of liquors and drugs which in 1896-97 is estimated to amount to | ... | ... | ... | 139,94,000 |
| (ii)  | Transit duty on Excise opium                                                                               | ..  |     |     | 4,11,000   |
| (iii) | Fines, confiscations and miscellaneous                                                                     | ... |     |     | 45,000     |

The total coming up to 144,50,000 of which the provincial share is 36·12 lakhs. Of these, by far the most important is the first item. The revenue derived from opium and other intoxicating drugs amounts to 4 lakhs, that from foreign liquors to 376,000 and the rest is made up of country spirits and toddy revenue. In the case of opium there is no increase but in others there is a steady increase. The Government attribute this increase to the prosperity of the lower classes who consume liquor. The administration Reports do not place before us any material from which we could draw such a conclusion. It is true enough that we are assured by Government that the liquor-shops are limited "to the reasonable requirements of the population." But so far as we are concerned it would have been more satisfactory if we had been assured that no liquor-shops have been opened against the consent of the Municipal Councils within the Municipalities or against the consent of the Taluq Boards in the various Taluqs.

#### STAMPS.

Another important head, so far as Revenue is concerned, is stamps. The provincial share is three-fourths of the Stamp Revenue. The contract figure is 49·50 a year. The provincial share of the revenue for the period is, therefore, 247·50, whereas the Government actually realised 289·62 for their share, having thus gained about 42·12 lakhs. The Madras Government attribute this increase

of Revenue which has been steady, to the increasing prosperity of the country. The revenue is derived mainly by sale of general stamps and Court Fees stamps. In so far as the increase is due to the increase in the sale of stamps for receipts and cheques or bills of exchange or hundies, it may be that the difference is due to the advance of trade but the great increase on that of 1891-92 consists of the enormous difference in the value of Court Fee stamps sold. And those alone, who regard litigation as the test of prosperity will accept the view that this advance indicates increased prosperity. We also find that over 40,000 rupees per year is realized by fines and penalties imposed by officials. Apart from Court Fee stamps, papers for copies and stamps for receipts and cheques, the value of general stamps sold has not much increased. It is therefore to litigation and trade that we have to look for any development of the Stamp Revenue.

#### REGISTRATION.

This is another head of steadily expansive revenue. The Provincial share is one half and that was estimated at 5.50 lakhs per year. For the five years of the period, therefore, the estimated amount is 27.50 lakhs, while the Provincial Government expect to realize 30.98 lakhs gaining thereby to the extent of over 3.48 lakhs. According to the Provincial Government "the receipts," in some of the years "were high owing to the scarcity which gave rise to a number of land sales and mortgages."

#### LAW AND JUSTICE.

Another important head under receipt, which we propose to notice is that of Law and Justice. This is one of the wholly provincial heads. With reference to both revenue and expenditure, it is divided into two sub-heads, (a) Courts of Law, and (b) Jails. Under Courts of Law, the revenue is mainly derived from magisterial fines which alone come to 6,26,000 out of a total of 7,70,000 in the Budget estimate of 1896-97. The increase in magisterial fines has been steady. And if this increase indicates an increase in crime we need hardly say that it is far from being one which we can view with satisfaction.

#### FOREST.

The Forest Revenue has more than doubled itself. Here also there is room for great anxiety. The main item of Forest Revenue

consists of the value of timber and other produce removed by consumers or purchasers. Their relative importance will appear from the budget estimate of 1896-97 where timber so sold is expected to realize

|                        |     |     |           |
|------------------------|-----|-----|-----------|
| ...                    | ... | ... | 1,98,800. |
| Firewood & charcoal    | ... | ... | 2,71,200  |
| Bamboos                | ... | ... | 1,59,600  |
| Grazing & Fodder grass | ... | ... | 3,16,200  |
| Other Minor Produce    | ... | ... | 4,81,200. |

Each and every one of these items indicates additional taxation. The items of minor produce are being constantly added to and fresh taxation is thus being imposed without legislation and without even bringing the matter before the Legislative Council.

We do not think this is right. We consider that the Annual Budget Statements before the Council ought to enable us to see whether any increase in Revenue is due to the increasing prosperity of the people or to their increasing poverty, as in the instance of Registration already referred to, to the increase in crime as in the the case of law and justice already noticed, or to their moral degradation as is indicated in the matter of the increase in excise Revenue or for any other reasons.

If non-official criticism is needed in the case of expansion of revenue, it is almost essential in the case of expenditure. We have dwelt at such length on the increase in revenue that we cannot in this article go in much detail through the tables of expenditure to show the necessity of control. Under the heads of minor work, navigation, and civil work, about 140 lacs, out of the total 2 lacs realized over the contract figure have been spent. It will not serve any useful purpose to draw attention to any particular item of expenditure as not essential. But when the separation of judicial and executive is not fully carried out on financial grounds, when higher education is starved, technical education entirely neglected, and the Provincial Government attempts to force Secondary and Primary education more on the local boards whose finances will scarcely bear the strain, it is clear that such a proportionately large expenditure on public works would scarcely have been allowed to pass unchallenged, if any opportunity had been afforded for criticism in the council.

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Our conclusions therefore are that :—

*The system so far as it has been carried out has proved a success and such success therefore justifies progress on the same lines, either by declaring that there ought to be no more revisions except under exceptional circumstances or if that is not feasible such revisions should take place only at far greater intervals than at present. When such revisions are made the India Government ought not to take away any portion of the increase in the Provincial Revenue.*

*No adequate attempts have been made to carry out that part of the system which requires that Provincial expenditure ought to be subject to non-official scrutiny or criticism and opportunities ought to be afforded to non-officials particularly to the Legislative Council to bring to public prominence or to the notice of the India Government or Secretary of State any unnecessary expenditure about to be incurred or any increase in revenue when such increase is due to any executive action and is prejudicial in their view to the best interest of the ryots.*

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## RECEIPTS.

|       |                                      | Provincial<br>Proportions. | Contract<br>Figure. | 82-83  | 83-84  | 84-85  | 85-86  | 86-87  | Average. | Average<br>annual profit. |
|-------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|---------------------------|
| i     | Land Revenue Collections ...         | 28'80                      | 129'92              | 135'76 | 136'58 | 126'05 | 137'89 | 136'39 | 134'53   | 4'61                      |
|       | Adjustments ...                      | ...                        | ...                 | 1'45   | 1'24   | 5'45   | 4'28   | '56    | 2'37     | 2'37                      |
| iii   | Salt ...                             | Mis                        | '19                 | '25    | '38    | '45    | '91    | 1'20   | '64      | '45                       |
| iv    | Stamps ...                           | ½                          | 27'00               | 26'04  | 28'12  | 28'25  | 29'50  | 29'10  | 28'20    | 1'20                      |
| v     | Excise ...                           | ½                          | 30'90               | 32'29  | 33'06  | 38'66  | 44'15  | 45'83  | 38'80    | 7'90                      |
| vii   | Customs ...                          | Mis                        | '50                 | '38    | '41    | '25    | '22    | '26    | '31      | —'19                      |
| viii  | Assessed Taxes ...                   | ½                          | 2'35                | 2'30   | 2'33   | 2'16   | 2'17   | 2'17   | 2'23     | —'12                      |
| ix    | Forest ...                           | All                        | 2'40                | 9'07   | 9'54   | 11'67  | 11'99  | 12'47  | 10'94    | 8'54                      |
| x     | Registration ...                     | ½                          | 2'88                | 2'90   | 3'16   | 3'79   | 4'63   | 4'36   | 3'77     | '89                       |
| xii   | Interest ...                         | ...                        | '03                 | '02    | '03    | '02    | '02    | '02    | '02      | —'01                      |
| xvi   | Law and Justice Courts of Law...     | All                        | 4'28                | 4'28   | 3'67   | 4'13   | 3'70   | 4'02   | 3'96     | —'32                      |
|       | Jails ...                            | All                        | 3'10                | 3'22   | 2'14   | 2'03   | 1'69   | 1'54   | 2'13     | —'97                      |
| xvii  | Police—                              |                            |                     |        |        |        |        |        |          |                           |
|       | Police ...                           | All                        | 2'48                | 1'65   | 1'05   | '84    | '62    | '89    | 1'01     | —1'47                     |
|       | Pounds ...                           | All                        | 2'03                | 2'09   | 2'26   | 2'38   | 2'45   | 2'65   | 2'36     | '33                       |
| xviii | Marine ...                           | All                        | '22                 | '05    | '05    | '05    | '04    | '04    | '05      | —'17                      |
| xix   | Education ...                        | All                        | 1'72                | 1'89   | 2'13   | 2'11   | 1'77   | 1'65   | 1'91     | '19                       |
| xx    | Medical ...                          | All                        | '64                 | '62    | 1'08   | '88    | 1'13   | 1'41   | 1'02     | '38                       |
| xxi   | Scientific Department ...            | All                        | 1'01                | 1'95   | 1'57   | 1'73   | 1'71   | 1'47   | 1'69     | '68                       |
| xxii  | Superannuations ...                  | ...                        | '34                 | '56    | '23    | '22    | '23    | '21    | '29      | —'05                      |
| xxiii | Stationary and Printing ..           | ...                        | '70                 | '82    | '73    | '84    | 1'04   | '83    | '85      | '15                       |
| xxv   | Miscellaneous ..                     | ...                        | 1'01                | '76    | '79    | '73    | '85    | '69    | '77      | —'24                      |
| xxx   | Miner Works and Navigations—         |                            |                     |        |        |        |        |        |          |                           |
|       | Civil ...                            | ...                        | ...                 | ...    | ...    | ...    | ...    | ...    | ...      | ...                       |
|       | P. W. D. .                           | ...                        | '15                 | 1'40   | '55    | '53    | '59    | '74    | '39      | —'39                      |
| xxxii | Civil Works—                         |                            |                     |        |        |        |        |        |          |                           |
|       | Civil Officers ...                   | ...                        | '05                 | '06    | '10    | '29    | '30    | '04    | '16      | '11                       |
|       | P. W. D. ...                         | ...                        | 1'73                | '73    | 1'37   | '79    | '98    | 1'08   | '99      | —'74                      |
|       | Contributions from L. F. ordinary... | ..                         | 1'15                | 5'75   | 2'72   | 1'87   | 2'09   | 2'23   | 2'93     | 1'78                      |
|       | Total...                             | ...                        | 217'78              | 236'29 | 235'29 | 236'17 | 245'95 | 250'73 | 242'69   | 24'91                     |

*PROVINCIAL FINANCE.*  
*EXPENDITURE.*

27

|       |                                                           | Provincial<br>Share. | Contract<br>Figure. | 82-83  | 83-84 | 84-85  | 85-86  | 86-87  | Average. | Average<br>annual profit. |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------|-------|--------|--------|--------|----------|---------------------------|
| 1     | Refunds and draw-<br>backs ... ..                         | Mis                  | 1'09                | '99    | 1'77  | '90    | '91    | '75    | 1'06     | '03                       |
| 3     | Land Revenue ...                                          | All                  | 42'62               | 43'80  | 45'68 | 47'43  | 44'79  | 45'82  | 45'50    | -2'88                     |
| 5     | Salt ... ..                                               | ..                   | ...                 | ...    | ...   | ...    | ...    | ...    | ...      | ...                       |
| 6     | Stamps ... ..                                             | ½                    | '72                 | '72    | '78   | '84    | '80    | '82    | '79      | -'07                      |
| 7     | Excise ... ..                                             | ½                    | 1'05                | '99    | 1'00  | 1'16   | 1'77   | 1'21   | 1'23     | -1'18                     |
| 9     | Customs ... ..                                            | All                  | 2'32                | 1'85   | 1'70  | 1'60   | 1'65   | 1'76   | 1'71     | '61                       |
| 10    | Assessed Taxes ...                                        | ½                    | '04                 | '03    | '04   | '03    | '03    | '03    | '03      | '01                       |
| 11    | Forest ... ..                                             | All                  | 2'13                | 6'45   | 7'86  | 8'95   | 9'31   | 11'49  | 8'81     | -6'68                     |
| 12    | Registration ...                                          | ½                    | 2'10                | 2'26   | 2'41  | 2'64   | 2'90   | 3'07   | 2'66     | -5'6                      |
| 13    | Interest on debt...                                       | ...                  | ...                 | ...    | ...   | ...    | ...    | ...    | ...      | ...                       |
| 15    | Post Office ...                                           | Dist.                | 1'08                | 1'05   | 1'18  | 1'11   | 1'07   | 1'06   | 1'09     | -1'01                     |
| 18    | General Admini-<br>stration ...                           | All                  | 9'53                | 10'54  | 10'07 | 10'51  | 10'67  | 10'53  | 10'47    | -9'4                      |
| 19(a) | Law and Justice<br>Courts of Law...                       | All                  | 37'13               | 38'31  | 38'75 | 39'46  | 39'04  | 39'28  | 38'97    | -1'84                     |
| (b)   | Jails ... ..                                              | All                  | 10'62               | 9'04   | 7'89  | 8'02   | 7'99   | 8'83   | 8'36     | 2'26                      |
| 20    | Police Proper ...                                         | All                  | 37'28               | 36'25  | 36'45 | 36'79  | 36'39  | 37'38  | 36'65    | '63                       |
|       | Pounds . . . .                                            | All                  | 1'30                | 1'27   | 1'39  | 1'44   | 1'40   | 1'82   | 1'46     | -1'16                     |
| 21    | Marine ... ..                                             | All                  | '17                 | '06    | '08   | '27    | '23    | '18    | '16      | '01                       |
| 22    | Education ... ..                                          | All                  | 10'42               | 11'06  | 11'66 | 12'37  | 12'99  | 12'67  | 12'15    | -1'73                     |
| 24    | Medical ... ..                                            | All                  | 9'80                | 10'23  | 10'85 | 11'19  | 11'87  | 11'48  | 11'12    | -1'32                     |
| 25    | Political ... ..                                          | ...                  | ...                 | ...    | ...   | ...    | ...    | ...    | ...      | ...                       |
| 26    | Scientific... ..                                          | All                  | 3'48                | 5'18   | 3'98  | 3'68   | 3'77   | 3'95   | 4'11     | -6'3                      |
| 27    | Superannuation ...                                        | ...                  | 8'69                | 8'40   | 8'62  | 9'16   | 9'52   | 9'84   | 9'11     | -4'2                      |
| 30    | Stationary and<br>Printing ... ..                         | ...                  | 6'48                | 7'26   | 8'51  | 7'60   | 7'63   | 7'67   | 7'53     | -1'05                     |
| 32    | Miscellaneous ...                                         | ...                  | 4'16                | 2'77   | 2'59  | 2'82   | 2'53   | 2'52   | 2'64     | 1'52                      |
| 33    | Famine Relief ..                                          | ...                  | ..                  | 1'35   | '32   | '57    | 2'78   | '05    | 1'02     | -1.02                     |
| 37    | Construction of<br>Railways ... ..                        | ...                  | ...                 | ...    | ...   | ...    | ...    | ...    | ...      | ...                       |
| 38    | State Railways ...                                        | ...                  | ...                 | ...    | ...   | ...    | ...    | ...    | ...      | ...                       |
| 41    | Miscellaneous<br>Railways ... ..                          | ...                  | ...                 | '08    | '12   | '06    | '39    | '39    | '21      | -2'1                      |
| 43    | Minor Works and<br>Navigation Public<br>Work Officers ... | ..                   | 3'28                | 3'53   | 3'33  | 4'45   | 6'22   | 4'23   | 4'36     | -1'08                     |
| 45    | Civil Works—<br>Civil Officers ...                        | ...                  | 2'00                | 2'85   | 2'65  | 3'85   | 2'47   | 2'05   | 2'77     | -7'7                      |
|       | Public Works<br>Officers ... ..                           | ...                  | 16'93               | 17'16  | 21'95 | 25'30  | 18'64  | 21'77  | 20'96    | -4'03                     |
|       | Contributions to<br>Local Fund ...                        | ...                  | 1'12                | 1'97   | 2'37  | 2'70   | 2'52   | 3'21   | 5'56     | -1'44                     |
|       | Total... ..                                               | ...                  | 215'54              | 225'45 | 234'0 | 244'90 | 240'28 | 242'36 | 237'49   | -21'95                    |

## RECEIPTS.

|       |                                                  | Provincial<br>Proportions. | Contract<br>Figure. | 87-88  | 88-89  | 89-90  | 90-91  | 91-92  | Average. | Average<br>annual profit. |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|---------------------------|
| i     | Land Revenue Collections ...                     | ¼                          | 113'42              | 120'75 | 118'94 | 123'58 | 118'53 | 108'04 | 117'97   | 4'55                      |
|       | Adjustment ...                                   |                            | 34'07               | 35'02  | 40'22  | 39'93  | 21'93  | 41'47  | 35'71    | 1'64                      |
| iii   | Salt ...                                         | Mis                        | 1'37                | 1'44   | 1'37   | 1'82   | 2'10   | 1'18   | 1'58     | '21                       |
| iv    | Stamps ..                                        | ¾                          | 43'50               | 44'79  | 46'02  | 48'76  | 48'43  | 50'61  | 47'72    | 4'22                      |
| v     | Excise ...                                       | ¼                          | 22'00               | 24'35  | 26'19  | 28'50  | 29'99  | 30'35  | 27'88    | 5'88                      |
| vii   | Customs ...                                      | Mi.                        | '27                 | '27    | '29    | '30    | '33    | '35    | '31      | '04                       |
| viii  | Assessed Taxes ...                               | ½                          | 5'60                | 7'64   | 7'56   | 8'25   | 8'21   | 8'68   | 8'07     | 2'47                      |
| ix    | Forest ...                                       | All                        | 13'00               | 13'75  | 15'15  | 15'58  | 17'95  | 16'94  | 15'87    | 2'87                      |
| x     | Registration ...                                 | ½                          | 4'38                | 4'54   | 4'79   | 5'14   | 5'42   | 6'17   | 5'21     | '83                       |
| xii   | Interest ...                                     |                            | '03                 | '02    | '35    | '33    | '43    | '44    | '31      | '28                       |
| xvi   | Law and Justice Courts of Law...                 | All                        | 4'01                | 4'58   | 4'95   | 5'50   | 5'65   | 6'57   | 5'45     | 1'44                      |
|       | Jails ...                                        | All                        | 1'93                | 1'49   | 1'66   | 1'45   | 2'03   | 2'58   | 1'84     | '09                       |
| xvii  | Police—                                          |                            |                     |        |        |        |        |        |          |                           |
|       | Police ...                                       | All                        | '57                 | '84    | '91    | '86    | '86    | '89    | '87      | '30                       |
|       | Pounds ...                                       | All                        | 2'45                | 2'78   | 2'92   | 3'04   | 3'34   | 3'38   | 3'09     | '64                       |
| xviii | Marine ...                                       | All                        | '06                 | '14    | ...    | ...    | ..     | '04    | '04      | '02                       |
| xix   | Education ..                                     | All                        | 1'65                | 1'63   | 1'65   | 1'47   | 1'35   | 1'33   | 1'49     | '16                       |
| xx    | Medical ...                                      | All                        | 1'20                | 1'15   | 1'13   | '70    | '73    | '81    | '90      | '30                       |
| xxi   | Scientific & c. Dept.                            | All                        | 1'65                | '90    | 1'16   | 1'72   | 1'75   | 1'89   | 1'48     | '17                       |
| xxii  | Superannuation ..                                |                            | '24                 | '36    | '57    | '27    | '34    | '34    | '38      | '14                       |
| xxiii | Stationary and Printing ...                      |                            | '78                 | '88    | '95    | '88    | '85    | '91    | '89      | '11                       |
| xxv   | Miscellaneous ...                                |                            | '75                 | 1'22   | 1'43   | 1'40   | 1'47   | 1'50   | 1'41     | '66                       |
| xxx   | P. W. D. ...                                     |                            | '54                 | 1'00   | 1'11   | 1'24   | 1'39   | 1'61   | 1'27     | '73                       |
| xxxii | Civil Officers ...                               |                            | '10                 | '21    | '22    | '08    | '31    | '19    | '20      | '10                       |
|       | P. W. D. ...                                     |                            | 1'00                | 1'07   | '98    | 1'03   | '98    | 1'43   | 1'10     | '10                       |
|       | Contributions Ordinary ...                       |                            | 1'79                | 2'72   | 2'21   | 2'29   | 1'92   | 2'10   | 2'25     | '46                       |
|       | Contributions Mayavaram Muthu-<br>pet Railway .. |                            | ...                 | ...    | ...    | ...    | ...    | 1'43   | '29      | '29                       |
|       | Total Rev. and Receipts ...                      |                            | 256'36              | 273'54 | 282'73 | 294'12 | 276'29 | 291'23 | 283'58   | 27'22                     |

# PROVINCIAL FINANCE.

29

## EXPENDITURE.

|       |                              | Adjust. | Contract Figure. | 87-88  | 88-89  | 89-90  | 90-91  | 91-92  | Average. | Average annual profit. |
|-------|------------------------------|---------|------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|------------------------|
| 1     | Refunds and drawbacks ...    | Mis     | 1'01             | 1'11   | 1'09   | 1'21   | 1'07   | 1'30   | 1'16     | —15                    |
| 3     | Land Revenue ...             | All     | 45'82            | 46'45  | 46'25  | 46'76  | 45'79  | 48'70  | 46'79    | —97                    |
| 5     | Salt ...                     | ...     | ...              | ...    | ...    | ...    | '47    | '84    | '26      | —26                    |
| 6     | Stamps ...                   | 3/4     | 1'09             | 1'15   | 1'19   | 1'24   | 1'23   | 1'28   | 1'22     | —13                    |
| 7     | Excise ...                   | 1/4     | '64              | '67    | '82    | '96    | 1'18   | 1'40   | 1'01     | —37                    |
| 9     | Customs ...                  | All     | 1'58             | 1'61   | 1'63   | 1'62   | 1'56   | 1'58   | 1'60     | —02                    |
| 10    | Assessed Taxes ...           | 1/2     | '15              | '17    | '08    | '08    | '08    | '08    | '10      | '05                    |
| 11    | Forest ...                   | All     | 10'50            | 11'26  | 12'16  | 11'51  | 12'39  | 13'14  | 12'09    | —159                   |
| 12    | Registration ...             | Half    | 3'12             | 3'11   | 3'28   | 3'29   | 3'38   | 3'55   | 3'32     | —20                    |
| 13    | Interest on Ord. debt. ...   | Mis     | ...              | ...    | '28    | '31    | '36    | '69    | '33      | —33                    |
| 15    | Post Office ...              | Dist.   | 1'07             | 1'06   | 1'06   | 1'06   | '96    | '91    | 1'01     | '06                    |
| 18    | General Administration ...   | All     | 10'47            | 9'64   | 9'59   | 9'80   | 9'86   | 10'07  | 9'79     | '68                    |
| 19(a) | Law and Justice              |         |                  |        |        |        |        |        |          |                        |
|       | Courts ...                   | All     | 39'62            | 39'89  | 40'81  | 41'28  | 41'85  | 43'04  | 41'37    | —175                   |
| (b)   | Jails ...                    | All     | 8'42             | 8'63   | 8'29   | 8'00   | 8'39   | 9'76   | 8'61     | —19                    |
| 20    | Police ...                   | All     | 35'79            | 35'96  | 35'39  | 36'11  | 37'63  | 39'14  | 36'85    | —106                   |
|       | Pounds ...                   | All     | 1'40             | 1'97   | 2'18   | 2'26   | 2'32   | 2'46   | 2'24     | —84                    |
| 21    | Marine ...                   | All     | '19              | '27    | '11    | '83    | '36    | 1'50   | '61      | —42                    |
| 22    | Education ...                | All     | 10'66            | 12'50  | 11'81  | 12'43  | 14'02  | 14'54  | 13'06    | —240                   |
| 24    | Medical ...                  | All     | 11'84            | 11'51  | 10'81  | 10'77  | 10'73  | 11'58  | 11'08    | '76                    |
| 25    | Political ...                | All     | '75              | '81    | '72    | '75    | '84    | '77    | '78      | —03                    |
| 26    | Scientific ...               | All     | 3'80             | 3'64   | 4'01   | 3'50   | 3'84   | 3'51   | 3'69     | '11                    |
| 29    | Superannuation ...           | ...     | 9'76             | 10'78  | 11'54  | 12'33  | 13'39  | 13'17  | 12'24    | —248                   |
| 30    | Stationary and Printing ...  | ...     | 7'66             | 8'98   | 8'14   | 7'46   | 7'49   | 7'53   | 7'92     | —26                    |
| 32    | Miscellaneous ...            | ...     | 2'34             | 1'63   | 1'75   | 1'45   | 1'29   | 1'52   | 1'53     | '81                    |
| 33    | Famine Relief ...            | ...     | ...              | '01    | '03    | 4'41   | '24    | 1'57   | 1'25     | —125                   |
| 37    | Construction of Railways ... | ...     | ...              | ...    | ...    | ...    | 2'86   | 4'27   | 1'43     | —143                   |
| 41    | Miscellaneous Railways ...   | ...     | ...              | ...    | ...    | 1'00   | 1'75   | '36    | '62      | —62                    |
| 43    | Public Works Officers ...    | ...     | 26'51            | 26'27  | 32'94  | 32'43  | 35'46  | 39'99  | 33'42    | —691                   |
| 45    | Civil Works—                 |         |                  |        |        |        |        |        |          |                        |
|       | Civil Officers ...           | ...     | 2'93             | '85    | 1'77   | 1'29   | 1'41   | 4'21   | 1'91     | 1'02                   |
|       | Public Works Officers ...    | ...     | 17'07            | 19'42  | 20'74  | 22'70  | 24'81  | 27'17  | 22'97    | —590                   |
|       | Contribution Ordinary ...    | ...     | 2'17             | 3'64   | 2'87   | 2'82   | 2'95   | 5'78   | 3'61     | —144                   |
|       | Total ...                    | ...     | 256'36           | 263'00 | 271'34 | 279'66 | 289'96 | 315'41 | 283'87   | —2751                  |

## RECEIPTS.

|       |                                     | Provincial<br>Proportions. | Contract<br>Figure. | 92-93  | 93-94  | 94-95  | 95-96  | Budget<br>96-97 | Average. | Average<br>annual profit. |
|-------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-----------------|----------|---------------------------|
| i     | Land Revenue ...                    | ¼                          | 121'00              | 126'24 | 132'20 | 133'78 | 133'16 | 134'50          | 131'97   | 10'97                     |
|       | Adjustments ..                      |                            | 32'54               | 33'09  | 32'48  | 29'69  | 35'30  | 31'56           | 32'42    | —'12                      |
| iii   | Salt ... ..                         | Mis                        | 1'58                | 1'69   | 1'35   | 1'58   | 1'61   | 1'71            | 1'59     | '01                       |
| iv    | Stamps ... ..                       | ¾                          | 49'50               | 55'23  | 55'74  | 59'05  | 59'75  | 59'85           | 57'92    | 8'42                      |
| v     | Excise ... ..                       | ¼                          | 30'50               | 30'28  | 32'19  | 34'18  | 35'96  | 36'12           | 33'75    | 3'25                      |
| vii   | Customs ... ..                      | Mis                        | '30                 | '54    | '48    | '57    | '83    | '76             | '64      | '34                       |
| viii  | Assessed Taxes ...                  | ½                          | 8'25                | 9'27   | 10'31  | 11'03  | 11'43  | 11'45           | 10'70    | 2'45                      |
| ix    | Forests ... ..                      | ½                          | 9'75                | 7'89   | 9'73   | 9'47   | 10'55  | 10'08           | 9'55     | —'20                      |
| x     | Registration ..                     | ½                          | 5'50                | 6'59   | 6'00   | 6'08   | 6'11   | 6'20            | 6'19     | '69                       |
| xii   | Interest .. ..                      |                            | '59                 | '85    | 1'79   | 1'81   | 1'57   | 1'48            | 1'50     | '91                       |
| xv    | Post Offices ... ..                 |                            | ...                 | '01    | ...    | ...    | ...    | ...             | ...      | ...                       |
| xvi   | Law and Justice<br>Courts of Law... | All                        | 5'70                | 6'63   | 6'97   | 7'37   | 7'42   | 7'70            | 7'22     | 1'52                      |
|       | Jails ... ..                        | All                        | 1'90                | 3'60   | 3'66   | 4'32   | 4'84   | 4'26            | 4'14     | 2'24                      |
| xvii  | Police—                             |                            |                     |        |        |        |        |                 |          |                           |
|       | Police ... ..                       | All                        | '89                 | 1'30   | 1'23   | 1'22   | 1'20   | 1'03            | 1'19     | '30                       |
|       | Pounds ... ..                       | All                        | 3'31                | 3'33   | 1'73   | 3'51   | 3'60   | 3'54            | 3'54     | '23                       |
| xviii | Marine ... ..                       | All                        | '03                 | ...    | ...    | ...    | 1'13   | ...             | '23      | '20                       |
| xix   | Education ... ..                    | All                        | 1'37                | 1'58   | 1'86   | 1'81   | 1'95   | 1'93            | 1'83     | '46                       |
| xx    | Medical ... ..                      | All                        | '73                 | '85    | '87    | 1'13   | 1'34   | 1'22            | 1'08     | '35                       |
| xxi   | Scientific... ..                    | All                        | 1'49                | 1'88   | 1'73   | 1'84   | 2'17   | 2'13            | 1'95     | '46                       |
| xxii  | Superannuation ...                  | All                        | '33                 | '32    | '38    | '41    | '46    | '47             | '41      | '08                       |
| xxiii | Stationery and<br>Printing ... ..   |                            | 1'06                | 1'07   | 1'13   | 1'24   | 1'33   | 1'38            | 1'23     | '17                       |
| xxv   | Miscellaneous ..                    |                            | 1'38                | 1'48   | 1'39   | 1'84   | 1'75   | 1'54            | 1'60     | '22                       |
| xxvi  | State Railways ...                  |                            | .20                 | ...    | ...    | 2'12   | 2'47   | 2'71            | 1'46     | 1'26                      |
| xxx   | Minor Works and<br>Navigation—      |                            |                     |        |        |        |        |                 |          |                           |
|       | Civil ... ..                        |                            | ...                 | ...    | '06    | '16    | .11    | '16             | '10      | '10                       |
|       | P. W. D. ... ..                     |                            | 1'50                | 1'60   | 1'80   | 1'66   | 1'56   | 1'70            | 1'67     | '17                       |
| xxxii | Civil Works—                        |                            |                     |        |        |        |        |                 |          |                           |
|       | Civil Officers ...                  |                            | '07                 | '19    | '47    | '31    | '26    | '08             | '26      | '19                       |
|       | P. W. Officers...                   |                            | 1'00                | 1'16   | 1'29   | 1'25   | 1'70   | 1'25            | 1'33     | '33                       |
|       | Contribution Ordy.                  |                            | 1'36                | 3'42   | 2'53   | 2'14   | 2'40   | 2'26            | 2'55     | 1'19                      |
|       | Mayavaram Mu-<br>thupet Railway.    |                            | ..                  | 2'13   | 4'60   | 3'20   | '63    | '60             | 2'23     | 2'23                      |
|       | Total Receipts...                   |                            | 281'83              | 302'22 | 315'97 | 322'77 | 332'59 | 327'67          | 320'25   | 38'42                     |

*PROVINCIAL FINANCE.*  
EXPENDITURE.

31

|       |                                    | Adjust. | Contract<br>Figure. | 92-93  | 93-94  | 94-95  | 95-96  | Budget<br>96-97 | Average | Average<br>annual profit. |
|-------|------------------------------------|---------|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-----------------|---------|---------------------------|
| 1     | Refunds and draw-<br>backs ...     | Mis     | 1'00                | 1'25   | 1'16   | 1'72   | 1'15   | 1'22            | 1'30    | —'30                      |
| 3     | Land Revenue ...                   | All     | 45'71               | 50'76  | 51'67  | 51'79  | 52'00  | 53'03           | 51'85   | —6'14                     |
| 5     | Salt ...                           | ¼       | 6'01                | 5'13   | 5'40   | 5'76   | 6'19   | 7'09            | 5'91    | '10                       |
| 6     | Stamps ...                         | ¾       | 1'91                | 2'8    | 2'44   | 2'60   | 2'66   | 2'63            | 2'54    | —'63                      |
| 7     | Excise ...                         | ¼       | 1'25                | 1'44   | 1'51   | 1'55   | 1'75   | 1'94            | 1'64    | —'39                      |
| 9     | Customs ...                        | All     | 1'62                | 1'67   | 1'75   | 2'01   | 2'32   | 2'39            | 2'03    | —'41                      |
| 10    | Assessed Taxes ...                 | ½       | '08                 | '09    | '10    | '12    | '12    | '13             | '11     | —'03                      |
| 11    | Forests ...                        | All     | 8'00                | 6'62   | 6'78   | 6'93   | 7'23   | 8'35            | 7'18    | '82                       |
| 12    | Registration ...                   | ½       | 3'53                | 3'70   | 3'81   | 3'98   | 4'08   | 4'30            | 3'97    | —'44                      |
| 13    | Interest on debts...               | ...     | '56                 | 1'43   | 1'79   | 1'67   | 1'59   | 1'72            | 1'64    | 1'08                      |
| 15    | Post Office ...                    | ...     | 1'07                | '79    | '82    | '85    | '88    | 1'07            | '88     | '19                       |
| 18    | General Admini-<br>stration ...    | All     | 9'44                | 10'02  | 10'03  | 10'25  | 10'27  | 9'73            | 10'07   | —'63                      |
| 19(a) | Courts of Law ...                  | All     | 44'03               | 44'87  | 45'27  | 46'52  | 46'70  | 47'05           | 46'09   | —2'06                     |
| (b)   | Jails ...                          | All     | 8'60                | 10'30  | 10'57  | 10'26  | 10'35  | 10'51           | 10'39   | —1'79                     |
|       | Police—                            |         |                     |        |        |        |        |                 |         |                           |
| 20    | Police ...                         | All     | 37'81               | 39'69  | 41'13  | 41'38  | 43'20  | 43'01           | 41'68   | —3'87                     |
|       | Pounds ...                         | All     | 2'45                | 2'52   | 2'58   | 2'58   | 2'64   | 2'81            | 2'63    | —'18                      |
| 21    | Marine ...                         | All     | '19                 | 1'09   | 1'24   | '48    | '15    | '40             | '67     | —'48                      |
| 22    | Education ...                      | All     | 14'29               | 15'64  | 16'18  | 16'39  | 16'73  | 17'41           | 16'47   | —2'18                     |
| 24    | Medical ...                        | All     | 10'77               | 12'22  | 13'17  | 12'99  | 13'00  | 13'07           | 12'89   | —2'12                     |
| 25    | Political ...                      | All     | '75                 | '91    | '78    | '85    | '83    | '84             | '84     | —'09                      |
| 26    | Scientific...                      | All     | 3'32                | 3'72   | 4'22   | 4'07   | 4'05   | 4'39            | 4'9     | —'77                      |
| 29    | Superannuation ...                 | ...     | 14'00               | 13'58  | 13'79  | 14'46  | 14'85  | 15'60           | 14'45   | —'45                      |
| 30    | Stationary and<br>Printing ...     | ...     | 7'48                | 7'48   | 8'02   | 9'00   | 9'48   | 8'39            | 8'47    | —'99                      |
| 32    | Miscellaneous ...                  | ...     | 1'35                | 1'41   | 1'43   | 1'39   | 1'44   | 1'52            | 1'44    | —'09                      |
| 33    | Famine Relief ...                  | ...     | ...                 | 2'44   | '02    | ...    | '02    | ...             | '49     | —'49                      |
| 37    | Construction of<br>Railways ...    | ...     | ...                 | 9'19   | 6'40   | 1'27   | '53    | '40             | 3'56    | —3'56                     |
| 38    | State Railways ...                 | ...     | ...                 | ...    | ...    | 1'31   | 1'53   | 1'68            | '91     | —'91                      |
| 41    | Miscellaneous Ry.                  | ...     | ...                 | ...    | '11    | —'07   | '00    | ...             | '01     | —'01                      |
| 43    | Minor Works and<br>Navigation—     | ...     | ...                 | 4'35   | 3'35   | 3'97   | 3'73   | 4'20            | 3'92    | —3'92                     |
|       | P. W. D.                           | ...     | 33'09               | 28'97  | 28'07  | 29'37  | 31'83  | 38'95           | 31'44   | 1'65                      |
| 45    | Civil Works—                       |         |                     |        |        |        |        |                 |         |                           |
|       | Civil Officers ...                 | ...     | 1'00                | 3'85   | 3'49   | 4'20   | 8'56   | 8'05            | 5'63    | —4'63                     |
|       | P. W. Officers ..                  | ...     | 20'10               | 21'53  | 22'93  | 20'90  | 25'31  | 28'00           | 23'74   | —3'64                     |
|       | Contribution<br>Ordinary ...       | ..      | 2'10                | 9'09   | 2'60   | 2'67   | 2'56   | 2'55            | 3'89    | —1'79                     |
|       | Mayaveram Muth-<br>pet Railway ... | ..      | '32                 | ...    | ...    | '31    | '47    | '50             | '26     | '06                       |
|       | Total...                           | ...     | 281'83              | 318'13 | 312'61 | 313'63 | 328'20 | 342'93          | 323'08  | —41'25                    |

## MR. BALFOUR'S FOUNDATIONS OF BELIEF.

IT may be remarked that two years have elapsed since the publication of the Rt. Hon. Balfour's book on the Foundations of Belief and that a criticism on it offered at this date comes too late. But it is evident that the questions to the solution of which the book is directed are of such permanent and daily-increasing interest and importance that notwithstanding they have exercised the great minds of many ages they have not become stale topics nor promise to become so. But what, it might be asked, could a Hindu possibly have to say about a book on whose merits both as regards its manner and its matter, many competent critics of European fame have already passed a verdict? To this we answer that our special qualification for the task we have undertaken is the very circumstance which might probably provoke the question—the fact of our being Hindus. The subtle intellect of the Hindu had delved deep into the abstruse world-problems as they are called and gloried in the possession of an exhaustive philosophical literature before the other nations of the world had learned to dabble in philosophy; and despite the stamp of regrettable unchangeableness imprinted on the social and intellectual conditions of the people in the East and the marvellous and rapid progress of science in the West, the educated Hindu of to-day is able to look down with self-complaisance upon the intellectual activity of the West from those sublime heights of philosophy to which the scientific genius of the West is in vain trying to soar. One noticeable feature about the various criticisms which have appeared in print from the pen of Western writers is the apparent reluctance of these critics, otherwise presumably competent, to give the subject and the views of the author their due without suffering their judgements to be influenced by considerations altogether irrelevant to the questions proposed for solution and we confidently assure the reader that whatever its faults, this critical brochure will be altogether free from those blemishes which inevitably disfigure the best criticism when the critic, happening to fall in with *some* of the views of an author on a subject, feels bound not to express a note of dissent from *any*.

The concluding paragraph of the book under review makes it clear that in Mr. Balfour's view no system of philosophy which does not include the fundamental elements of Christian Theology can be regarded as even in the least degree satisfactory and it is interesting to note the process of reasoning by which he arrives at this conclusion. After observing, just to give an air of expediency to the method which for reasons of his own he had resolved to pursue, that the views he was to advocate would be exhibited to advantage against the back-ground of some contrasted system of philosophy, he chooses for the object of his vehement diatribe the naturalistic system of thought, as one which more than Transcendental Idealism militates against his own creed and profits exclusively by any defeat which Theology might sustain.

This system of philosophy the author christens by the name of Naturalism although other men have called it by various names such as Agnosticism, Positivism and Empiricism and, that the reader may not still labour under a mistaken apprehension as to the fundamental doctrines of the particular creed which has received so many names, lays them down for the reader's benefit in the following words :—

“The leading doctrines (of this creed) are that we may know phenomena and the laws by which they are connected but nothing more. More there may be or may not be; but if it exists, we can never comprehend it; and whatever the world may be in its reality, supposing such an expression to be otherwise than meaningless, the world for us, the world with which alone we are concerned or of which alone, we seem to have any cognisance is that world which is revealed to us through perception and which is the subject-matter of the natural sciences. Here and here alone are we on firm ground; here and here only can we discover anything which deserves to be described as Knowledge; here and here only may we profitably exercise our reason or gather the fruits of wisdom. Such, in rough outline, is Naturalism.”

Whether the creed indicated by these lines is Agnosticism Empiricism or Positivism correctly understood and unambiguously stated we are inclined to doubt. But that it is not Naturalism as understood by philosophers is apparently easy to perceive. For Naturalism is unanimously understood in the philosophical world

as the opposite pole of Supernaturalism which calls in the aid of centaurs and other imaginary beings to solve difficult problems about the universe. Naturalism enters a vehement protest against the pernicious and ridiculous inclination of ordinary humanity to explain any observed fact demanding an explanation by unphilosophically tracing it to the working of supernatural agencies of whose existence they have no manner of assurance—an inclination engendered and fostered by an intellect which is either impotent or otherwise incapable of carefully pursuing the slow scientific methods to arrive at a philosophically sound explanation of the apparently disorderly phenomena of the Universe. Naturalism which according to the author's own observations in a subsequent chapter of the book is only Rationalism developed and pushed to its legitimate consequences is a very healthy creed which emphasises the desirability of finding out or suggesting a rational explanation for any embarrassing phenomena we may encounter and ridicules with commendable frankness and boldness the superstitious theory of the existence of a whole hierarchy of Powers of Light and Powers of Darkness and of their occasional or periodical transgressions into the domains of Nature and of their mischievous activity and diabolical pleasure in disturbing the smooth course of natural laws. That such a creed is the pitiless adversary of blind superstition goes without saying. But how so refreshing a creed can be called the enemy of religion it passes any body's imagination to suggest. But still we find that the Rt. Hon. author expresses in no mistakable or equivocal language his conviction that this creed of Naturalism is the most formidable opponent of religion continually and pitilessly harassing the outskirts, making mouths, without being overawed, at the nameless, innumerable and hideous shapes guarding or supposed to guard the frontiers of the domains of religion, compelling them by means of incessant and open warfare to vacate their possessions and to fly from the field leaving the enemy to press into the interior of the territorial jurisdiction of religion. Shall we then be justified in attributing the pious indignation and the virulent attack of the author to his sincere misconception of the fundamental doctrines and the consequences, direct and indirect, of the cardinal principles of this wholesome creed? Shall we be arguing fairly

in saying that the author considers religion so ill fortified against the attacks of Naturalism that it should apprehend being ousted altogether from its dominions? We have too high an opinion of the author's intellect to suppose, even on such strong testimony, that he was not aware of the signification of the term Naturalism, generally, nay universally, given to it in the philosophical world or that he really apprehended that religion was so poorly guarded by its superstitious adjuncts and outworks as to perish with them at a blow from Naturalism. On a consideration of the intellectual prestige of the author and of the ridiculous nature of the blunder committed we feel rather inclined to fall back upon the only alternative hypothesis, certainly not discreditable to a statesman of renown, that the author has and could possibly have no quarrel with Naturalism as it is generally understood and as he really understands it himself and that not wishing, of course for reasons which we are not aware of, to ventilate his spleen against the chilling doctrines of Agnosticism he gives it the name of Naturalism and hangs it by that unfortunate name. We hold no brief for Agnostics or their creed and it may even be that we are in as little sympathy with them as the Rt. Hon. author of the *Foundations of Belief*; but that is certainly no justification for our declining to grant them a patient hearing and to deliver an unbiassed judgment after a full and impartial inquiry. We will therefore let the Agnostics speak for their own cause before the reader.

"We know and can know" say the Agnostics "phenomena and the laws by which they are connected; we know and we can know nothing more. There may or may not exist a God. But if He exists (which we neither affirm nor deny) we know Him not nor can we know Him. We go further and say that a God Whom we can know is not worth knowing. We know neither mind nor matter as they are in themselves and we are therefore neither materialists nor spiritualists." This is, so far as we can see, an honest statement of the results of their labours in the field of science and philosophy arrived at by pursuing as carefully as they could the methods prescribed to guarantee the soundness of their conclusions and if the conclusions so arrived at do not satisfy the Rt. Hon. author in the same way that they do not satisfy many others not excluding all the Agnostics, it is certainly no reason why we should call

it names. These conclusions at which science arrives cannot take any body by surprise as no body could have reasonably expected better results. Not one of the many religions obtaining in the world asserts the existence of a God Whose existence could be scientifically demonstrated—a proposition of which after waste of considerable verbiage which could be used for better purposes, the Rt. Hon. author affords us a beautiful illustration by finding it necessary—of course in the interests of erring humanity—to *postulate* the existence of God. There is, we cannot help observing, another view of Agnosticism which places mankind under a deep debt of gratitude to that creed. Considering the brilliancy of the advocates of Agnosticism and their unstinted intellectual exertions to warrant the soundness of their conclusions there can be no manner of doubt that none who travels the road which they have gone will find God. The search after the Infinite is very taxing and costs much time and the Agnostics have really done a great service to humanity by taking the trouble—as proxies for the public—of making observations and experiments, by closely studying the phenomena of nature, by detecting the laws in strict obedience to which they occurred or recurred, by suggesting an explanation, where they found one, for any event that required an explanation, by doing, in short, all that their hands and heads individually and collectively could devise for reading the mystery of the Universe and its origin, by emphatically declaring at the close of their wearisome task, in as clear and unmistakable a way as language could permit it, that they found no God and that none could find Him by that road. There cannot be a more useful and authenticated warning for those who believe in a God and who not knowing where He is, what He is or how He could be found exhaust or try to exhaust one department of knowledge after another in the vain hope to get at Him one day at the end of some book, manuscript or printed, paper or cadjan. To such people who on account of the shortness of their lives often reach their end before their search after God is earnestly begun or at the best before they have travelled quite a furlong from their starting-point it would often be a great relief to know on reliable authority (believe the Agnostics for it) that the road is long and wearisome and that they are not to find God at their journey's end. They (the Agnostics) by announcing the results of their scientific investigations have not

disproved the existence of God but only disproved the fallacious logic of the pious preacher who asks his hearers to argue from the beauty of the rose to the beauty of the God who made it.

Nor is there reason to be sorry for the attitude of the Agnostics in the matter of belief in God. Evidently they restrict the term knowledge to knowledge obtained through sense-perceptions and when they say that they know or can possibly know nothing of God, they must be understood as asserting that they can know nothing of God on the testimony of the senses. Consistently with these doctrines they could very well have *believed* in the existence of God and for aught we could say to the contrary they probably did believe and those who could claim any acquaintance with the private lives of some of these Agnostics may be cited to bear testimony to their amazement at the withering and chilling consequences of their own philosophy and to their having been at Church on the Sabbath day as often perhaps as the most pious among the congregation. But the grateful reader of Mr. Balfour's pages may choose to interrupt us hastily at this point and refer us to the beautiful illustration of the Parasite. It may be contended that the spiritual life they lead is parasitic and that it is nourished by processes in which they take no share. The belief which an Agnostic may have in God cannot possibly be affected by the conclusions of his own philosophy which does not furnish him with a reply, either negative or affirmative to the question 'Is there a God.' We are thus inclined to think that the creed of Agnosticism is not necessarily antagonistic to a *belief* in God.

There is yet another assertion of the Agnostics which is certainly not antagonistic to Theology and which expresses a sober truth that must find favour with the followers of every other creed. It is the statement clearly conceived and clearly expressed that if *we can know* God, then *ex hypothesi* He is not worth knowing. At first sight this may seem a startling and chilling proposition to Theologians who speak of God with the familiarity with which we speak of brother John of the next street and who maintain that we can know God without very much inconveniencing ourselves. To them it will undoubtedly appear that this is rather a circuitous and indirect denial of the existence of the Supreme Being; for in their opinion if God exists, He exists only that we may know Him. But the Rt. Hon,

author who, for certain purposes of his own in respect of another controversy, asserts that the adherent of Naturalism is an Empiricist from necessity can easily understand what the Agnostics mean by *knowledge*. According to the theory of Empiricism, knowledge is strictly confined to objects of sense-perception and altogether excludes belief or expectations born of habit. Is it not then manifest that what the Agnostics assert is that our senses, as they are, can convey to us no impressions of God, supposing Him to exist? And is it seriously contended either by the Rt. Hon. author or any philosopher or theologian worth the name that God is an object of sense-perception? There is overwhelming testimony for the fact that God if He exists sternly refuses to become an object of perception to the senses which we possess and that He can be known only with the aid of senses other than the untrustworthy ones which now mankind call their own or with the aid of these so highly developed in their functional qualifications that they then can hardly be identified with what they are at present. It must be admitted to the credit of all Theology that it will in no inconsiderable measure detract from the dignity of our conception of God to postulate Him as a phenomenon among phenomena capable of being perceived by the gross faculties which we possess and if there is one doctrine more than another which makes any system of theology tolerable or endurable by its followers and absolutely indispensable to make it worthy of the name, it is the doctrine that God cannot be known through the medium of our sensory organs.

These are indeed only some of the considerations which go to prove that a believer in God can reasonably find nothing in the cardinal doctrines of Naturalism alias Agnosticism which offends against his religious sensibilities and it is a pity that the Rt. Hon. author should have chosen so innocuous a system of philosophy for his attack, having deliberately misunderstood the scope and legitimate consequences of the system.

Having chosen Naturalism for his attack the Author proceeds to describe the withering consequences of this system on our moral and aesthetic sensibilities and the claims unanimously put forward by mankind in favour of the dignified lineage of reason. His complaint against Naturalism and its effect upon ethics is, as he puts it, that morality becomes then no more than a bare catalogue of

utilitarian precepts. He argues that in the light of Naturalism the feelings subservient to morality are nourished by physiological and psychological processes hardly distinguishable in kind from those which prop up the coarsest and the vulgarest of our appetites and that morality is thus degraded by Naturalism into an ingenious though disingenuous contrivance of nature to cheat us into practising interested or disinterested benevolence. The Rt. Hon. author maintains (and we are not concerned to gainsay him) two propositions of the correctness of which he is tolerably well-assured. The first is that practically, human beings being what they are, no moral code can be effective which does not inspire in those who are asked to obey it, emotions of reverence and the second, that practically the capacity of any code to excite this or any other elevated emotion cannot be wholly independent of the origin from which those who accept that code suppose it to emanate. It is difficult to understand how morality on the Naturalistic hypothesis controverts either of the two propositions just above enunciated. It is extremely doubtful if the lower appetites have got the same *pedigree* to boast of as the feelings that contribute to our admiration of disinterested benevolence. It may be that both are *ultimately* traceable to physiological or psychological processes. The processes are not identical in both cases. They are only similar and this difference very properly makes all the difference in the feelings which the satisfaction of the baser cravings and the higher needs inspire in us. All that we contend for is that the word *origin* in the second of the propositions enunciated does not mean the *ultimate source* but the immediate antecedent of which it is the consequent. We might here well observe that it is more philosophical to judge of the tree from its fruits than to judge of the tree from the seed and it is probably in anticipation of this objection that the Rt. Hon. author after dismissing with a few observations the question of the emotional character of the moral law as judged from its origin enters an emphatic protest against the claims of any Naturalistic system of ethics to emotional adequacy—a *sine qua non* of every moral code if it is to be honored by observance and admiration. He examines the highest ends of the moral code on the Naturalistic hypothesis and pronounces in the course of a grand peroration that the highest of ends, no matter if it is not achievable,

consistent with the Theory of Naturalism (*i. e.*) the perfection and felicity of all sentient creation, does not satisfy our ethical imagination. The author conceives or at any rate appears to do so that, before scientific investigations assiduously made had revealed the immeasurable vastness of this universe to the gaping eyes of mankind, the ethical end above referred to might have been adequate to satisfy the ethical aspirations of humanity. But he urges that man has left those ages of comparative darkness far behind, that the marvellous progress of science during the last few centuries had clearly pointed out to him the relative insignificance of his position in the immeasurable universe, that the world of which he has any knowledge however erroneous, is but a speck in the whole creation, that he is as it were a dew-drop lost in the sea and that he is consequently or ought to be well aware of the utter inadequacy of any ethical end calculated to secure the happiness of sentient beings alone in all the universe. This argument really sounds like something and in the garb in which the author dresses it appears formidable. But a closer examination of the reasons alleged to show the inadequacy of this highest of ends on the Naturalistic hypothesis furnishes, queerly enough, reasons equally in favour of its adequacy. Without affecting the importance of man as the lord of the universe science had only extended the territorial jurisdiction of man. Man has discovered worlds on worlds and planets on planets and he is no longer the petty chieftain over a small tract of land that he once was. He is now master not only of the earth but of a universe compared with which the earth is a speck. And when this large accession to his jurisdiction has not offered him a single specimen of a sentient being entitled to occupy a higher place in the scale of creation, his importance in his opinion has rightly grown with the progress of science and the accession of new worlds to the known universe. The reasoning employed by us seems to be so obviously sound that we think it hardly necessary to support it by the quotation of eminent authorities; but we are tempted to make a passing reference, before we leave this part of our subject, to the same or nearly the same argument used by the author, of course in a subsequent portion of the book, to refute objections raised against the credibility of the Incarnation in Christian Theology. When it is objected that the fact of the incarnation is thoroughly

incredible on the ground of the extreme improbability of God's choosing this small speck of earth as the theatre of that great and glorious event, considering the very insignificant part played by man in the cosmic drama of such an extended universe, the author rightly, in our opinion, argues that it is absurd to measure man's importance in the scale of creation by the quantity of measurable space that he fills in this immeasurably vast universe and that considering the moral superiority of man over the rest of the creation, the earth which man inhabited was preeminently the proper place for the occurrence of such an unprecedentedly stupendous event. This argument *mutatis mutandis* applies to the case before us and we can see nothing inadequate in the moral code whose end is nothing less than the perfection and happiness of all sentient beings morally superior to the rest of the universe.

The author next proceeds to consider the prejudicial effect of Naturalism upon Aesthetics. He complains that Naturalism makes Beauty the chance occasion of a passing pleasure. He finds that there is very little scientific literature on the philosophy of Aesthetics and that the few theories, if theories they can be called being nothing more than desultory and haphazard observations, are all absurd, discordant and insufficient to answer the two pertinent questions viz (1) what causes enable us to derive æsthetic enjoyment from some objects and not from others and (2) whether there is any fixed and permanent element of beauty perceivable in objects which we call beautiful. After indulging in a course of destructive criticism on Spencer's Theory of Primordial Coincidence and other explanations as to the causes of æsthetic enjoyment he disappoints the anxious reader by a conclusion in which as in the last chapter of Johnson's *Rasselas* nothing is concluded. For fear of being accused of trifling or carping we quote his conclusion. "However little we may be prepared to accept any particular scheme of metaphysical Aesthetics—and most of these appear to me to be very absurd—we must believe that somewhere and for some Being there shines an unchanging splendour of Beauty of which in Nature and in Art we see each of us from our own stand-point only passing gleams and stray reflections whose different aspects we cannot now co-ordinate, whose import we cannot fully comprehend but which at least is something other than the chance play of subjective

sensibility or the far-off echo of ancestral lusts." Here we are treated to a belief founded exclusively upon an unshaken conviction of the absurdity or the inadequacy of the current theories on the origin of aesthetic emotions. It is impossible to conceive a proposition more loosely or vaguely expressed. The only reason why mankind should share the author's beliefs as regards the origin of Aesthetic emotions appears to be that the few theories admittedly unsystematic have been found, when weighed in the author's balance, wanting—a fact which may not so far frighten mankind out of their wits as to give their voices for a theory neither sufficiently stated nor sought to be supported by any reason whatever. The author makes haste to leave the subject immediately after being delivered of this necessary belief without pausing to examine whether it has any and what solution to offer for the two questions set out by the author at the beginning of his destructive criticism. Where the perennial fountain of beauty is and for whom it exists, the author does not tell us ; nor is it possible to gather by what process the beauty is reflected in Nature and Art and why these reflections so vary in their aspects. What after all is the answer furnished by the author's skeleton of a theory to the question whether there is any permanent element of beauty ? What are the elements of beauty and do they individually or collectively produce the feeling of beauty ? How to account for the fact daily witnessed that one individual is charmed at the sight of the rose and another at the sight of the lily ? Why are not they charmed alike at the sight of the rose or the lily ? These are interesting questions to which the theory gives no answer and we leave this part of the subject as there is no theory stated to deserve criticism.

The author next observes that on the Naturalistic theory of the universe, Reason becomes the dim passage from one set of unthinking habits to another. It ceases to be regarded as 'the roof and crown of things' and becomes the product of unreason. He emphasises the fact that from the stand-point of organic evolution it is impossible to draw any distinction between the processes by which reason is developed and the processes by which any other faculty physiological or psychological is developed, faculties being developed by Nature on lines calculated to ensure their utility or inure for the benefit of the race. He observes that faculties brought

into existence and developed in view to such practical and utilitarian ends cannot be otherwise than inadequate to satisfy the speculative curiosity, one of the products of the evolutionary process and to furnish us with satisfactory answers to our questions about the universe of which we know so little, the senses we possess being unable to comprehend even a decent portion of the vast universe. He further points out that nature so intent on creating a faculty in view to some practical end is equally intent on suppressing it when it has done its work and becomes in legal parlance *functus officio* and in support of his view of this economy of nature quotes the instance of the decay of the instincts of a domesticated animal as a case in point. He therefore argues that mind, the most precious thing in man, will be suppressed by nature so soon as the habits which it originates render the play of Reason superfluous in any department of human endeavour. We will take in their order these objections propounded by the author to the naturalistic theory of the origin of Reason and see what they are worth. It is true that so far as the physiological or psychological origin is concerned Reason is in no more elevated position than any of the less important faculties. But we do not claim any superiority for reason on the ground of its aristocratic lineage. It is not ennobled above the rest of the faculties by the accident or advantages of its birth but it bases and maintains its title to eminence on the superior functions which it is called upon to perform in the transactions of life. Reason may like other faculties be debased by its low origin. The fertilizing stream is certainly to be placed on a higher level of estimation than the noisy cataract though both may take their source from the same modest eminence. As regards the objection that the reasoning faculty is not adequate to satisfy the speculative curiosity of humanity we answer that the faculty having been created for purely utilitarian purposes it is too much to expect it to answer the queries of curiosity which the author himself admits to be a *by-product* of the process of evolution. Presumably Nature appears to have thought that it was more desirable in the interests of humanity to check his curiosity and as it could not possibly provide against its birth without suppressing faculties which were necessary from other utilitarian considerations it made reason not as a help-mate to curiosity but as its controller; for reason as our experience often

tells us cautions us against being too curious. Nature has furnished us with faculties requisite for obtaining all knowledge which she thought it desirable for us to have and like a prudent though affectionate mother has effectively provided against our seeking to know more than we can know. There is therefore no reason to fear that on the Naturalistic hypothesis and on the consequent deposition of reason from the high pedestal which it occupies in other theories we miss the one important ground on which mankind base their superiority over the rest of the creation.

As regards the objection that the formation of habits does and must gradually supplant reason and altogether suppress it when it is no longer required we rely upon the very illustration relied on by the author but for a different purpose—for the purpose of proving, if proof were required, that Nature is kinder and more attentive to our well-being than she is in the author's view. It is no doubt true that the instinct of the domesticated animal decays but the true explanation for this admitted fact is not the one offered by the author. Nature does suppress the instinct in the domesticated animal not because the instinct is under the circumstances *superfluous* but because it is *injurious*. Imagine for instance a tiger retaining its furious instincts—its thirst for human gore—after it is domesticated and you can understand what a havoc it would cause. Nature therefore erases its instincts altogether that it may be as harmless as a kitten, not because it has its wants supplied by man and does not require its instincts for its being. But in the case before us the formation of habits, however strong, does not render the existence of reason in the individual superfluous, much less does it render it injurious to the individual. Habits, however strong, are still amenable to reason and in many instances are overcome when they are found inconsistent with the well-being of the individual subject to their influence. Reason does not become defunct or even superannuated because of the habits which are its own progeny. It does not abdicate its rule nor does it give up any portion of its original jurisdiction. Being required for almost all purposes of life and constantly worried with ceaseless calls it clamours for some rest and resigns the management of a portion of its dominions to its own progeny—the habits—invests them with all power, reserving to itself the power of deposing them from their

suffered elevation if they in over-weening confidence in their own strength forget the source to which they owe their position and begin to set up independently for themselves, in open scorn of the power of Reason—their progenitor. Habits, however strong, are the tenants-at-will of all-powerful Reason and it is a kind provision of nature that it should be so seeing that otherwise Reason will be overtaxed with work and that it should always have a right as the supreme faculty in man to suppress habits when they become obnoxious to the interests of the individual. We have thus no reason to apprehend with the author that sooner or later on the naturalistic hypothesis the reasoning faculty will be altogether suppressed and man, rendered essentially a bundle of unthinking habits.

Having thus considered the effect of Naturalism on Morality, Aesthetics and Reason the author proceeds to discuss its philosophic basis. The two fundamental doctrines of Naturalism are (1) that we can only know what science teaches us and (2) that beyond what we learn from the Natural sciences, we know and can know nothing more. It is against the latter assertion that philosophers and theologians have hitherto emphatically protested while the former has either been unnoticed or uncontested. The author however impugns the truths contained in the Natural Sciences. According to Naturalism, the theory of the universe is maintained exclusively upon experience which again is the sum-total of our knowledge of the universe furnished by the testimony of the senses. The whole theory therefore according to the author rests upon the nature and value of their testimony. The author urges (a position which cannot, certainly be contested and if need be can easily be proved by daily-occurring cases of mistaken identity) that the senses sometimes if not often, lie and that their want of veracity is exposed by their own subsequent evidence. If however it be replied that we are cognisant only of our mental states and that we only *infer* from our knowledge of our mental states the existence of independent material objects corresponding to the mental states of which alone we are conscious, the author urges that this theory while answering in a way the objection just above raised leads to other objections of a more serious tenor in that it utterly mis-states the principles on which scientific investigations have been conducted and necessarily falsifies their

conclusion ; for it is asked whether the men of science have been all along building theories on observation of objects thought of as independently existing or whether upon introspection of their own mental states. Clearly scientists observed independent objects and based their conclusions upon their observations ; and if there has been an error in the very first assumption on which their whole theory is based, the error, it is rightly urged hopelessly vitiates the results arrived at and thus proves that the science of matter we have is radically false.

He proceeds to examine whether it is possible on the empirical theory of knowledge, to extract out of it any knowledge of an independent universe and finds it impracticable to argue by any process of reasoning from our feelings and sensations the existence of an independent material universe for the following reasons viz., that it is extremely unsafe to argue from effects to causes, that the universe in which we believe is not quite congruous with the sensations or feelings they produce and that the principle of causation or any other principle of the kind cannot be squeezed out of experience which the author proves to be in effect nothing more than individual experience. At this stage of the treatise the author suspects that he has been overdoing his duty and that in having so effectually condemned all empirical theory of knowledge as inadequate and radically unsound he had virtually demolished all science ; but he subsequently assures himself and his readers that the apprehension is unfounded and argues that Naturalism cannot possibly drag science in its fall as science preceded all theory of science. We are afraid that this is hoping against hope but we reserve a searching examination of this assertion for a subsequent portion of this paper where it may appear more relevant.

The author next takes up his cudgels against the theory of Transcendental Idealism. This theory, the author observes, satisfactorily disposes of some strong objections urged against the Psychological analysis of experience and substitutes for a universe of unrelated sensations a world which is constituted by relations existing in the percipient mind. But this theory promising as it is compared with the Psychological theory of perception whose defects it is meant to cure not to speak of other anomalies which its fundamental

doctrines necessarily result in, makes God no other than a principle of unity—a pure abstraction impossible to conceive and inadequate to the soaring ethical imagination of mankind. The author also demonstrates that the problem of an independent material world is not more satisfactorily solved on the idealistic than on the empirical theory. The author next places under review the system of thought recently much favoured which had its origin in the wish of the people to find a scheme of knowledge provisionally sufficient to bridge over the real or supposed inconsistency between the teachings of Science and those of Theology. This theory designated Rationalism divides Religion into two portions Natural and Revealed, the *former* based upon the course of nature as science proves it to be and inferring the existence of a powerful intelligent and moral creator from particular phenomena observed and the *latter* containing truths the belief in which is exclusively supported by the evidences in favour of a special revelation and by facts not accessible otherwise to the most speculative human intellect. Two objections to this theory are propounded (1) that it renders the question of the truth of the events narrated in the Holy Scriptures amenable to the same canons of critical examination as would apply in the case of any other event in the history of the world and thus virtually deprives Religion of all its pretensions to excite a sort of mystical ecstasy and (2) that it is not strong enough in itself to keep Naturalism at bay. It may be that a naturalistic philosopher might with some difficulty be persuaded to accept this version of Natural Religion as it only infers the existence of a Deity who so far as that version goes has had apparently nothing to do with the universe after He called it into being. But his objection to Revealed Religion on the ground of its being opposed to the general course of events in Nature will be altogether unanswerable by the Rationalistic philosopher who, resting, as he does, his version of Natural Religion on the conclusions arrived at by science cannot consistently with his professions throw off his bondage to science to meet the objections against his version of Revealed Religion.

One other system of philosophy which postulates the existence of an independent material world and a spiritual world, each subject to its own laws and refusing to unite under a common sway, each completely divorced from the other, the author contemptuously

rejects as a patchwork scheme of beliefs offending against the growing philosophical instinct for unity notwithstanding that this theory is able to overcome some of the objections fatal to the empiric or the Naturalistic system.

Having thus in his opinion clearly demonstrated the inadequacy and the sceptical tendency of any empirical system of thought, the incompetency of Transcendental Idealism to provide a reasoned scheme of knowledge sufficient to answer the intricate world-problems and the abortive nature of all extant systems of thought, the author closes the destructive portion of his criticism and proceeds to give us a bit of his own mind on these problems—to lead us into the secrets of his provisional philosophy to which his criticism on other systems has paved the way.

Before proceeding however to discuss the intrinsic merits of the provisional philosophy ultimately reached by the author, we are tempted to ask ourselves what good, if any, could any provisional philosophy confer upon mankind. It must be conceded that the systems of philosophy reviewed by the author in the pages of his book and found to be inadequate or radically unsound, have at least had the merit of being provisional philosophies in their own days, even supposing that they are now found to be worthless. Is it then a philosophy of the kind repudiated in the first portion of the book that the author promises to treat us to in the second? It may perhaps be replied that although according to the author's own admission his provisional philosophy may be found to be incomplete it would better commend itself than the systems which it is intended to supplant for two very obvious reasons:—(1) its greater harmony with our increased knowledge of our environments, (2) its inclusion of the demands of our ethical imagination in its scope. It is true that our knowledge of the material universe has considerably grown in proportion to the progress of the natural sciences and that mankind could scarcely be expected to find any repose for their intellectual unrest in the doctrines of philosophies propounded in the course of ages when men's knowledge was comparatively small. But it is equally true that science has not yet come to a stand-still, that it is still progressing, that our knowledge, great though it be as compared with the knowledge of men in the past, is daily increasing and that we are every moment conscious that it is increasing. A philosophy

therefore whose author candidly warns us of its provisional and inadequate nature can scarcely commend itself to our intellect especially when we are conscious that our knowledge is increasing. Conscious as he is of the shortcomings of his provisional system of philosophy the author says that he is tempted to give it to the world because it is impossible, unless the constitution of human nature and man's faculties were thoroughly metamorphosed, to land at a thoroughly satisfactory system and that therefore we must be satisfied with the best that we can have at any moment. This argument while it does not advance our interest in this system or its claims to a longer lease of life than that generally accorded to other systems that have gone before it has, on account of the author's admission or the necessary implication that it will have to be given up when a better should be found, the undesirable effect of making it virtually less endurable than its predecessors. A philosophy of scientific beliefs can conceivably be borne with in spite of any shortcomings that could be pointed out in it. Every such philosophy must by its nature be provisional considering that science is still progressing. It is intended to supply us with explanations of phenomena observed and our belief in the phenomena themselves cannot in any degree be prejudicially affected by any fallacy that could be detected in the reasoning process by which we arrive at their scientific explanation. A philosophy of scientific beliefs is a mere luxury without which we could practically be as well-off as without it. But a consistent theory of religious beliefs founded upon the existence of pressing ethical needs is an over-mastering necessity indispensable to satisfy the demands of the ethical imagination of man which finding no halting place in the fleeting phenomena of the material universe soars after the Abiding and the Infinite and will not rest satisfied until it has reached that goal. A philosophy therefore which includes religious and ethical beliefs along with the scientific cannot possibly find favour with mankind if it is labelled 'provisional' by the manufacturer himself. To illustrate our position, we never doubt that the sun gives light though we doubt how it does. Science comes to our aid and offers a hypothesis or more to explain our doubt. Here any one or all of these hypotheses may possibly be wrong. But the disproof of any of these does in no way tend to shake our beliefs. Take however our belief in the Incarnation or any other event

recorded in the Holy Scriptures. Here as the author himself points out though for some other purposes, our belief is so bound up with the explanation theological or otherwise offered in support of the probability of the event that the moment we find the particular explanatory hypothesis untenable we do not generally seek assiduously for a better hypothesis but drop our belief in the event itself.

The explanation of any event in matters of belief does not as in the case of a phenomenon of the material universe simply perform the function of satisfying our idle curiosity or thirst for knowledge but is intended to prop and strengthen our belief which as apparently running counter to our notions of probability based upon our judgments of sense-perception requires a strong back-support. It is thus evident that though the subsequent rejection of provisional theories about scientific beliefs does not impair the strength of our belief, every theory about religious and ethical belief once proposed and subsequently found untenable necessarily slackens our beliefs themselves. So much against the author's philosophy as an admittedly provisional one. We shall now proceed to judge of it on its merits.

Foremost according to the author among the causes that produce belief are Reason and Authority and he devotes much space to their relative merits as such causes. He finds that our beliefs are more largely due to Authority than to Reason and supports this position by shewing that even beliefs arrived at by Reason, by purely intellectual processes, are in the last resort due to premises solely supplied by non-rational Authority. Considering the high influence which Authority exerts in the matter of the formation of beliefs and the little part that Reason plays in it the author commits himself to a startling paradox in saying that mankind excel the brute creation not so much in the possession of the reasoning faculty as in obedience to Authority. We are tempted to exclaim whether this is making Reason "the roof and crown of things." We certainly do not deny that mankind like their brute progenitors obey Authority; but, nevertheless, our superiority to brutes does not lie in our greater obedience to Authority than is found in the brute creation but in the possession of the reasoning faculty which makes our intelligent acquiescence in Authority possible. It may be that mankind and the brute-creation may alike be controlled by Authority;

but while the latter are always under the control of their instincts mankind are, in virtue of their reasoning faculty, found capable of controlling Authority.

The question now naturally suggests itself whether Authority includes in its jurisdiction religious and ethical beliefs and the author points out how this irrational impulse is invariably called in to support our so-called universal and inevitable judgments of sense-perception and the theory of an independent material universe exclusively resting on them and strongly urges that by no manner of reason whatever we could be compelled to narrow the jurisdiction of Authority to these judgments alone. If then it is virtually the influence of Authority that supports our belief in the existence of a material world corresponding to our judgments of perception, does it not follow, asks the author, that we are justified in postulating the existence of a correspondence between the universe and the higher and the nobler portion of ourselves? He then finds that we are driven to postulate the existence of a Deity and to satisfy our ethical and intellectual needs, a living, intelligent and moral God and proves how in the light of this postulate all our beliefs, Scientific, Ethical and Theological, unite to form a coherent whole.

Here we may probably expect the book to close; for, being as he often tells us, only an introduction to Theology its function appears to have been thoroughly performed. But suddenly however a Roman thought strikes the author whether the God of Christianity does not better satisfy our ethical imagination and its needs than the God of any other system of Theology and he devotes the remaining pages of the book to the solution of that question. We are afraid that we cannot pursue the author in the discussion of this question. We have already taken up as much space as could be conveniently spared for a single contribution to the Journal to which we are sending this for publication and as we apprehend that the importance of the question of the superiority of the Christian Theology deserves a lengthy discussion, we are obliged to reserve our comments upon this portion of the book under review for a subsequent issue of this Journal.

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## THE EURASIAN PROBLEM.

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THE Seventeenth Anniversary of the Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Association has been duly celebrated with much self-gratulation verbiage and rejoicing, and I would fain ask, where was the occasion for rejoicing and what has the Association accomplished during its seventeen years of labour? It will be said by optimists like Mr. Rowlandson, and Mr. Beeson "We have given the Association a local habitation and a name; we have established various philanthropic institutions like the Provident, and other funds; we have become possessed of a journal which voices our claims, our disabilities and our ambitions; we have encouraged and are encouraging education, by offering special inducements to Eurasians to educate their children; we have memorialized Parliament on the subject of forming Eurasian regiments; we have infused, or attempted to infuse, into the Eurasians, a sense of their obligations to themselves and to society, and lastly, but by no means leastly, we have awakened sympathy in behalf of the Eurasian in quarters where, until a short time ago, no sympathy existed." This, shortly put, is what the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association has done and I do not, for one moment, mean to depreciate and disparage the excellent results, so far as they have been achieved. But what I would ask is this? Might not these, and much better, results have been obtained if the Association had not taken the fatal step of abandoning the policy chalked out for its guidance by that long-headed and for-seeing man the late Mr. D. S. White? Practical, Mr. White may not have been, so far as his pet scheme of establishing village settlements was concerned, but even that scheme was only part of the idea which dominated him; *viz.* that the Eurasians are Indians and that India is their home. Mr. White indulged in none of that sentimental claptrap which Eurasian-and-Anglo-Indian Association-members profess to have for their European brothers. He recognised, with the courage born of conviction—which by the way is much to be admired and which it is desirable should be imitated—the exact position that the Eurasians occupied in the Social fabric as it exists in India; and he foresaw that to succeed and to

prosper as a community it was necessary for Eurasians to adapt themselves, to speak in more senses than one, to their environment. This necessity is a biological law, which as all students know, spells deterioration and rapid extinction to ignore. The present policy of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, as I understand it, is to encourage the Eurasian to Europeanize himself, in spite of the adverse conditions which encircle him. For the Eurasian to do this, is to court disaster and ruin ; for in his endeavour to do it, he necessarily places himself more and more out of adjustment with his environment. I am not speaking from a social point of view—though much may be advanced in support of my opinion that a total, or even partial, change in the modes of living of the Eurasians is calculated to benefit the community very considerably. What I more immediately refer to is the false and harmful idea that the Association—indirectly may be—is inculcating a belief in that the Eurasian is after all a European. That position, in view of the many and vast changes overspreading the face of the country, is utterly untenable. Eurasians must be made to understand that they are Indians—which undoubtably they are. Whatever costume they may wish to adopt and whatever food they may habitually consume and in whatever religious communion they may worship, they are—from political and legal points of view—Indians.

It will be objected that in their veins runs the blood of English men. It is a regrettable truth ! They are, in very many cases, the offspring of the most dissolute kind of European on the one hand and native women of the frailest virtue on the other ; and if, of the combination, the products bear in their composition the “vices and not the virtues” of their progenitors, there really is some excuse for the alleged fact. However that may be, if the Eurasian has English blood in his veins has he not a full share of that of the Native ? If he has clung tenaciously to the speech of his father and his mode of living, is he not the son of his mother and of the soil, and is not India his home till he dies ? There is no gain-saying it. Before I proceed to discuss the advantages that will accrue to the Eurasian community if it should reconsider its political position, it is perhaps as well to ask “What is the Eurasian Problem” “The Eurasian problem” is one of those catch-phrases which most people accept without thinking, but which when analytically

examined melts into their air. I confess my inability to see that any special problem exists in connection with the Eurasian community which does not apply to every other unprogressive community in India. The problem, according to many people whom I have consulted, is that a new variety of the *genus homo* has been evolved from an intermixture of race by reason of the British occupation of India, and that the units of such intermixture, by renewed accretions to, and multiplication among themselves, now form a considerable community and an integral, and by no means unimportant, section of the subjects of the Queen Empress; that this community, following to a great extent European modes of living and claiming English as their mother tongue, are descendants of Englishmen and, as such, deserve the special assistance of Englishmen and the English Government; that the vast majority of this community are steeped in crushing poverty and ignorance and require to be specially aided. This, briefly, is the problem. The remedial measures for the elevation of the community I have already indicated. For the present let us consider the true bearing of the facts before us and see if there is any necessity for any special treatment. As regards the intermixture of race, the process has always been characteristic of the intimacy resulting from close social relations where two races are brought together. The products of such intermixture do not, *ipso facto*, necessarily demand special treatment. Cross-breeds in all countries and in all times have generally been considered to be of the same race and have been brought up in the habits and customs of their maternal ancestry—and so did not differentiate into a separate race or community. During the slave days in America, for instance, every child born of negro women by a European father was considered to be, and treated as, a negro—a slave—regardless of the colour of the skin or the amount of European blood in his veins. I am far from defending the institution of slavery, or the treatment accorded to the Mulatto, the Quadroon or the Octoroon, but there can be no doubt that the system of cross-breeds remaining practically in the position, as regards race, of their mothers was on the whole beneficial to all concerned. If any cross-breed did struggle out of the slough of slavery and ignorance and his surroundings into comparative emancipation and enlightenment, he exemplified the survival of the fittest. The vast majority remained Negroes and

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slaves, more or less, contented with their lot and were happy and hard-working members of Society. With the abolition of slavery came the formation of a new community aping the habits and customs of Europeans—a community that is the curse of American cities to-day—too proud to work, but not ashamed to beg and in a similarly degenerate position as the Eurasians of this Empire are.

It might be said that the circumstances here were and are entirely dissimilar, but a moral may be drawn in this connection from the Tiyas of the Malabar Coast. We find among the Tiyas a large Eurasian Community who, however, call themselves Tiyas and who, under the provisions of the Marumakkatayam principle, have been brought up in the religion and the habits and customs of their Tiya mothers. These cross-breeds are none the worse, but by a far the better for the compulsory adaptation of themselves to their environment. There is no Eurasian problem on the West Coast, and the only Eurasians who there clamour for assistance and special treatment are Christian-Tiya-Eurasians, and pseudo-Eurasian accretions from the Native Christian ranks. Another community though they are not the result of intermixture of race, furnish a very favourable example of the advantages resulting from adaptation. I mean the Syrian Christians of Malabar. The early colonists of this community recognised, with a prescience worthy of respect and imitation, that unless they lived and dressed and laboured like the indigenous Hindu population of Malabar, they would soon be wiped out of existence. Giving effect to that conviction the Syrian Christians of Malabar and Travancore, while retaining their religion and differing but little from the Malabar people in appearance, are a flourishing and progressive community, wealthy, prosperous, enterprising and contented. In fact, quite a privileged class, when compared with the lower orders of Malabar Hindus. Race characteristics are asserting themselves and the community bids fair to oust the indigenous population from the soil.

In this connection, a lesson may be learnt also from the Jews of Cochin who have managed to survive for generations as a peculiar and separate people as a race, but who nevertheless are practically natives of the country in all else. A writer in the *Fortnightly Review* for October, speaking of the Jews observes:—"No one is born a Jew

who has not a Jewish mother. This is the recognised law among the Jews everywhere. Even a person whose father was a Jew, but whose mother was not a Jewess is not considered to have been born into the Jewish fold. . . . Persons who merely bear Jewish blood in their veins are not Jews any more than a man is a peer because he is connected by kinship with a Peer's family. The title to be a Jew is determined by one of two conditions—one hereditary through the mother, the other a religious rite analogous to baptism". In regard to the Eurasians the mistake made at the very commencement was that they were brought up as if they were Europeans. This is at the bottom of the great misery in which the community is admittedly in.

And to that circumstance can be traced all the poverty, the false pride, the expensive habits, the want of thrift, the deterioration in physique and the general want of self-help that is said to be—and I fear with some truth—characteristic of the race. The problem arising out of this, enunciation—so to speak—of the Eurasian difficulty is, therefore, "How to raise the community morally, mentally and physically?" If this process of raising consists in teaching the Eurasian to become a man of higher character, a man of parts and an able bodied workman then it is a consummation devoutly to be wished, not only of the Eurasian but of the neer-do-weels of every community in the land. If, on the other hand, the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association's intention is to improve the Eurasian community into the European, and practically eradicate the race, then it has undertaken a Sisyphean labour which it will never accomplish. The very idea is impossible, for in the hourly increasing struggle for existence and the demolition of caste and racial barriers combined with the more intimate association of Indian—and at all events, Europeans and Eurasians in the lower walks of life, there appears to be no hope of the Eurasian becoming extinct, within any definitely measurable distance of time. Not only is the Eurasian community uncommonly prolific itself, but the accretions to it from the intermixture of European and Native blood, as well as by pseudo-Eurasians from the out-cast Hindu and the Native Christian ranks, will produce in the future an ever-increasing number of Eurasians to raise whom, to the status of the European is not only an utterly hopeless task, but would be an unwise and foolish

endeavour. That this forecast is by no means exaggerated, any one who has a knowledge of Eurasian life in the great cities of India will endorse. The writer has seen European girls with blue eyes flaxen hair in Calcutta the mistresses of *khansammās* and *syces* while others who had sunk even lower *khansammās* would not notice. Granting, however, that there is a problem, and that it is absolutely necessary that Eurasians should strive and should be helped to become Europeans, is not, may I ask, the process taking place now, wherever the Eurasian has the energy, the opportunity, the 'go' to get on? Are not a certain aptitude to progress, education and the survival of the fittest, factors which are moulding the future of the Eurasian as they are moulding the future of other sections of the public. Every Eurasian family in Madras will afford examples in this connection. One member of a family, through vice, inherited unfitness, or want of opportunity steadily deteriorates till, in a short time, his descendants are to be numbered with the "submerged tenth", whilst another member of the same family energetic, hardworking and ambitious rises in the social scale, his descendants soon becoming merged in and being no way distinguishable from prosperous Europeans. In the former case the disreputable Eurasian, clinging to the belief that he has European blood in his veins, to work in a humble sphere is too much ashamed and becomes a cancer in the body politic, whereas in the latter, the success that has been achieved is a stimulus to further exertion and prosperity. In my humble opinion nothing that the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association can do will lift the wilful beggar out of the mire. It is better that he should be lost sight of; and in course of time, the force of necessity will have the desired effect of, erasing from his mind all fruitless ideas of his being in any degree better than the occupants of the Parcherry he rots in and, of compelling him to work for an honest, if humble, livelihood. Admittedly, it is this degraded class, mostly, that the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association hopes to raise. The prosperous and the enterprising Eurasian can, and does, mostly, do without the Association. In effect the Association says to the submerged Eurasian: "You must have nothing to do with the Natives of this country. In your veins flows the blood of Englishmen (notwithstanding the existence of the least drop in the world or no drop at all) and we shall, make (by

some mysterious process only known to the Association) Britons of you. Although Providence has cast our domicile in India, England is our home. Everything European is worth imitating. Nothing in Indian character or Indian aspirations is worthy of consideration. We are labouring under disabilities of all kinds which we protest against and want you to protest against." As a matter of fact, to take the disabilities first, there are no disabilities under which the Eurasians are suffering which do not apply to any other community in this wide empire, except perhaps that Government is averse to the formation of pure Eurasian Regiments. Curiously enough, this request is quite inconsistent with the ambition of Eurasians being in all senses of the term European. As a matter of fact, however, Commanding officers do not object to enlisting Eurasians as British soldiers so long as candidates for enlistment approximate in some degree in physique and complexion to the European as the considerable number in the ranks of the European army in India abundantly testifies. What Government does object to is the composition of regiments entirely composed of Eurasians, as it objects to the formation of regiments, except in one or two instances, formed entirely of Mahomedans or Hindus. While discussing this question there is no use in blinking the fact that the average Eurasian is about as fit to become a soldier as is the average woman. But, I am not blind to the truth that there are Eurasians fit to be soldiers and who would do credit for physique, intelligence and 'go' to any army in the world, but these are just the men who would derive no benefit from the ranks of the British Army being thrown open to them, simply because they can afford to do without. If the Eurasian wishes to show his loyalty and has a consuming desire to fight for his Queen and country, let him enter the ranks of the Native army and rise if he can, for there is no objection to his doing so. This clearly proves that there is no real disability to the Eurasian becoming a soldier. Where the shoe pinches is, that the Eurasian thinks himself superior to the native and quite equal to the European, and, therefore, if Government cannot provide him with a privateship in the British ranks, it is incumbent on Government to make him a separate arm of the military Service,

Sir Arthur Havelock with that peculiar straight forwardness characteristic of his utterances showed conclusively, I think, that

even in point of numbers, the Eurasians are out of it in regard to the formation of Eurasian Regiments. But granting that this attitude on the part of Government is a disability I confess my inability to specify another.

The "levelling up" policy of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, interpreted in idiomatic English, is "holding on to the coat tails of the European in this country"—a position which is neither dignified nor profitable. And this unseemly position has merited, deservedly, the often expressed contempt of the European and alienated the sympathy of the Native. Between two stools the Eurasian hovers like Mahomed's coffin, in mind air neither on earth nor in Heaven. The sooner it is recognised that India is the home of the Eurasian ; that to the Indian people he is bound both by the ties of blood as well as of country ; that his progress is included in their progress ; that his fate is bound up in their fate ; that their political disabilities are his political disabilities and that in their ultimate destiny is bound up his ultimate destiny, the better for the Eurasian. In this connection the Association committed a grave and unpardonable error when it replaced Mr. White's by substituting its present policy.

It must be clearly understood that the interests of Europeans and Natives in India, are, at one and the same time, identical and antagonistic. Identical in the sense that both Europeans and Indians are fellow subjects of the same Queen and subject to the same principles of Government : antagonistic in regard to the claims to power and administration of affairs coveted by each. The European likes, and it is but natural, since he is the conqueror, to keep in his hands the reins of Government ; but it is a legitimate ambition, fostered by England's declared policy of equality of opportunity to all, for the Native to endeavour to obtain, as much as possible, a share—and considering the numerical proportion of Indians—a large share in the executive administration of the Empire. There is very little doubt that, as time goes on, capacity, opportunity and ambition will give to the Native, an equal, if not a greater, share, in the Government as the European. By legitimate agitation the Native has, in many instances, forced the hands of Government and received the reward of importunity. Where is the Eurasian in this struggle?

Echo answers "where." Numerically he is insignificant, physically he is feeble, intellectually he is comparatively a child, and, financially he is bankrupt. Handicapped in this way has he any chance in the race? Most assuredly not! Much umbrage will be taken when I say that the Eurasian intellectually is a child. This remark requires explanation. The Eurasian is as keenly intelligent as any people in India but it must be admitted that his education has been neglected. Wherever he has genuinely endeavoured to study he has succeeded, but comparing the average Eurasian student with the average Hindu student, the Eurasian is much the inferior; while after obtaining employment, ninety-nine Eurasians out of every hundred neglect to study, fail to keep abreast of the times and drift useless intellectual derelicts into old age and obscurity.

Let us look now at the position taken up by the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, politically, in one instance. When the simultaneous examination question was before the public, the position assumed by the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, through its organ the *Eastern Guardian* was, to use a mild term, deplorably weak and irrational. As far as the Eurasian is concerned it is to his advantage that simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service should be held in India. If rather, the Association had joined the Indian Press in its agitation for the examination to be held in India there would have been some reason in it. If such an event had come to pass there was a hope of a poor Eurasian becoming a civil servant and obtaining some share in the administration of the country. But now such hope does not remain. The rich Native, regard being had to the weakening of the bonds of caste, is now able to compete with the European on his own ground; but for the Eurasian there is, in view of his poverty, no such hope. Politically, the Eurasian and the Native are in the same boat and I would counsel the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association to consider this important fact in all its bearings.

In conclusion, I assert again, that the European sentiment, if I may so call it, the desire to be all European and not the least bit Native is at the bottom of all the misery that the Eurasians are suffering. It is that which impels Eurasians to live and move and have their being like wealthy Europeans—and in the majority of

cases is it not a lamentable travesty after all. It is that which has paralysed the Eurasian's energies in regard to manual labour and humble employment, it is that which has, to use an expressive Eurasian vulgarism, made him "starve his stomach to feed his back", and deteriorate physically, and it is that which has, in every respect, been as a curse unto him. What then is the remedy? My conviction is that it consists in only one thing in making the Eurasian understand that he is a Native of India and that to progress he must throw in his lot and stand or fall with the Indian people. As a section of the great Indian people, prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with them through thick and thin, he will receive much more consideration than in his present isolated and anomalous position. Europeans, after a short residence in this country, often throw in their lot with the Native and join them in agitating for equality of opportunity and it is absurd for Eurasians to stand aloof and only wait for the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table. There is nothing Englishmen like, so much as pluck and self-reliance, and when they see the descendants of Europeans owning themselves Indians in the sense that Americans call themselves Americans, or Australians, they are much more likely to help their Kinsmen than when they seek for special treatment with no basis, beyond a sentimental one for their claims. In regard to the expensive habits of Eurasians, nothing can now be done, except to tender advice. If legislation were possible in such a connection, I should rule that every child born of a native mother should be brought up as a native. But the days of Lycurgus are gone and probably Eurasians and Pseudo-Eurasians will continue to be brought up to the end of the chapter in the idea that they are Europeans. One more word I feel is necessary. This paper has not been written in a hostile spirit. The observations here offered are the sincere convictions of one who is himself of that despised, but not, altogether I trust, useless class, the Eurasian.

A. P. S.

THE PLACE OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA.

The subject on which I have undertaken to speak is a large one and demands more information and abilities for any thing like an acceptable handling of it than what I have at my command. I have yet ventured to offer a few remarks on it with a view to impress upon you the importance of the subject and thereby to make you pay some attention to it ; and hope that you will give me an indulgent hearing.

It is my conviction that English education is capable of developing only the intellectual side of our nature and that its effect upon the moral and religious elements is necessarily secondary and inefficient ; and that even in regard to the intellect, its line of growth must necessarily be one-sided ; I think, therefore, that a remedy should be found to rectify this defect, if our educated countrymen are to have all their powers equally developed. I shall try to elucidate this to you in the following.

English education has succeeded in this country far beyond the most sanguine expectations of those who organized it for our benefit. In the period of 40 years since the establishment of the University of Madras, it has become the most important factor in the intellectual life of the community. Many among us speak and write the English language with greater freedom and ease than their mother tongue. It is the language of our social intercourse and of our daily correspondence. And I may say that we even think in that language, so much have our ideas become associated with it. Thousands of our countrymen have participated in this new enlightenment. Of graduates alone we have now about 4,000 living in this province ; and there are not less than 25,000 under graduates among us. There are, besides, the enormous numbers of our countrymen drawn into the sphere of university education, who have from a variety of causes lagged behind the advancing columns, but who have yet had a taste of the new system of education.

What is the benefit derived by these thousands of Indians ? They may be and are filling high offices of state ; or are amassing wealth as lawyers and in other ways. But our present concern is

not with their material prosperity. I may however remark in passing that they have not by their education added anything even to the material wealth of the country. They might have grown rich individually, but it has been mainly by a transfer of wealth to their hands from the hands of others. No one can say with much truth that the country now produces more wealth because of the spread of education in our midst, or that it draws to itself more of the produce of other countries.

But it is not my purpose to dwell upon this aspect of the question and request you therefore to ignore it altogether. We shall here confine our attention to the gain secured by our educated brethren and through them by the country at large in respect of the intellectual and moral elements of their nature. Are these men who have come out of our schools and colleges better intellectually and morally than those who have not had this kind of training? And have they imparted to their countrymen at large any share of the benefit conferred upon them by their English education? How has this education acted upon our conception and conduct of life? And what help are we receiving from it for the life which we all believe to be in store for us, as soon as we should pass through the portals of death? I do not undertake, nor is it possible, to answer in detail all or any of these questions. I shall only, suggest the general direction of my views on them.

English education has unquestionably conferred upon us one boon, *viz.* clearness of intellectual vision, not in the gift to an equal degree of the system of education, in vogue in our country in former times. It develops with a considerable amount of success the capacity to observe and argue. It has also furnished us with a fund of information regarding the phenomena of nature which is of no small significance as a factor in our general education. Many a phenomenon shrouded in mystery to our less fortunate countrymen who have not had this advantage of western education is to us the normal result of the operation of the ordinary laws of nature. We have learnt the true meaning of the allegory of the enormous snake which swallows up the obscured sun or moon at the time of an eclipse. When the fable describes Indra as smiting the clouds with his thunder and as sending down the refreshing rain from the heavens illumined with lightning, we

know how to distinguish the poetry in it from the facts that the poet would image forth. The fancy of the Puranas that would prop up the earth on the shoulders of elephants, the elephants on the hood of Adisesha, and seek in the end the supporting omnipotence of Vishnu, we know how to understand.

This much is solid gain. And English education came to us at a very opportune moment in the history of the nation. It came in time to start into new life the smouldering embers of our national genius. The Hindu mind had been thrown off its lines of advance by the intrusion of the Moslem. The followers of the prophet of Arabia brought fire and sword into the country and would also impose their religion on its children. The Hindus had advanced in their own quiet way to a frame of mind that was in perfect harmony with their surroundings. They were keen observers of nature, and enjoyed her blessings or submitted to her capricious freaks with hearts full of faith and reverence. The glowing sky over them and the earth teeming with life all round them had taught them, early in their career of intellectual progress, to feel every where the presence of an all-pervasive soul. They gave a moral life.

To every natural form, rock, fruit or flower,
Even the loose stones that cover the highway.

And all that they beheld "respired with inward meaning." Nature greeted them with bright images in all seasons of the year, took their minds captive with her sudden explosions of anger in thunder and lightning, and was mysterious in her unsteady ways. She never wore the apparel of icy death, but was ever full of life and animation. The Hindu was attuned to all them. His mind was reverential; and "the earth and every common sight" did seem to it "apparelled in celestial light." The very magnitude of the forces in the midst of which the Hindu lived threw him upon himself, and his mind often recoiled into itself from the terrific phenomena which it could not unravel. While the climate has a tendency to unnerve the body and dispose it to seek repose, the mind must have been in early times equally shut off from the external world because of the difficulty of entering into its ways and understanding its activities. It thus reached a condition of subjective activity in the special environments of its early life, and learned even

then to seek a refuge in the inner self from the struggles and turmoils of the world. And when the land was being torn to pieces by the unholy ravages of the foreigner, it had within itself,

Enough to fill the present day with Joy,
And overspread the future years with hope.

External force drove the Hindu to seek consolation in the world of mind which afforded him at all times ample scope for his desires and aspirations. His soul breasted her own griefs in heavenly solitude. He could submit to tyranny because of the consolation he ever found in his inner consciousness. There he had a sphere of activity and enjoyment subject to no change and exposed to no violence. He was even then most rich when most oppressed, for he had a world about him, and it was his own. His was the tranquil soul,

That tolerates the indignities of time,
And, from the centre of Eternity
All finite motions over-ruling, lives
In glory immutable.

This subjectivity of life formed the essential feature of his existence and he fell back upon it contracting himself from the external world at the approach of danger or force. The Mahomedan failed, therefore, to inflict any serious injury on the national life of the Hindus. The race stood intact against the oppression of the Arab, the Mogul, and the Tartar. It submitted to them as the familiar reeds on the banks of our rivers, bending quietly to superior force, but ready to lift up its head at the approach of peace, never losing the calm individuality of its nature.

But it must be confessed that the Moslem invaders did arrest the progress of the Hindu nation and even threw it back to a considerable extent. Our minds can never expand in the midst of ever present dangers. Even if it should preserve its composure in such troublous times, it means not any progress along its usual course. Indian civilization was then and is at present a composite of many grades of intellectual and moral advancement. In no country can you expect to see men of all social grades in the same level of mental growth. The minds of the members of a society necessarily run along many parallel veins. There were in India minds imbued with the highest wisdom pulsating in consonance with minds revelling in the grossest ignorance. The Upanishads

breathing as they do the purest atmosphere of divine knowledge were explained and discussed in the halls where ritualistic sacrifices were being performed with the exactitude of detail prescribed in the Bráhmànâs. The fables of our Puranas were listened to with reverence by sages versed in the holy lore of the Vedânta, and accustomed to feel the presence of the eternal Atman equally at every place and in every object. The conviction that the universe is but a play ground for the Supreme, embodying Him and permeated by His presence, explains the universal tolerance of the Hindu to all modes of approaching our Maker. The wise man, says the sloka, sees the same (Brahman) everywhere.

The higher fruits of the philosophical culture of the Hindus, the Moslem succeeded in crushing out of the conscious life of the nation. The even course of the complexity of its mental existence was interrupted by his wild ferocity. There was not then available that tranquillity which the philosopher requires for his higher flights to the regions of eternal existence. It was as much as the Hindu mind could do to retain unforgotten the ground work of ancient thought, to preserve the monuments of ancient wisdom, and to shrink into the uninvaded corners of the land with minds incapable of progress, but not altogether dead to the higher impulses of the nation. The invader nipped off ruthlessly the budding tendrils of progress, but the sap of subjective existence lay beyond his reach.

It was at this stage of our mental life, when all progress had been completely barred, but while yet the national mind retained something of its old vitality, that Providence sent the European to our shores. He brought us peace ; and the yoke that he imposed upon us was not so galling as to reach the placid stream of inner life. We have been able to wake up to renovated life under his unfelt sway. And he has also conferred upon us a boon more valuable than this negative one of tranquillity. It is the state-organized education of which we are here considering the results. It has acted as a positive force to rouse up our oppressed minds to resume their old course of progressive thought. The European has not simply left us to ourselves, but has stirred us up from our lethargy, and we are now looking about ourselves with a newly opened vision.

I believe you have heard of men born blind gaining their eyesight on the removal of what obstruction there was to their vision ; and

such men have been led into ridiculous blunders by a too much reliance on their inexperienced eyes. We are now in his plight. We have regained in a way the use of our mental eyes ; but this new vision leads us into egregious blunders. There has been no time as yet for us to scan the world about us with the help of the new capacities developed in us ; we are bold enough, however, to dispose of every question without a thought of our capacity for the task. Our intellect is yet but half-fledged, but we would soar on its wings to the determination of the highest problems that have weighed down the greatest minds of the world. The development of the genius of the nation was obstructed and the national intellect was thrown out of gear by the Islamites ; and the present system of education has been vouchsafed to us that we may not be lost altogether in the sea of intellectual torpidity into which we were precipitated by the followers of the crescent. But this new system of education is not a natural growth of our soil ; it is not the result of our own longings for light and of our efforts, through trial and failure, to satisfy the inborn cravings for mental elevation. It is an exotic transplanted into our midst from a remote country, where it had its birth and where its parts were fitted up so as to suit the peculiar circumstances of the place. England and India, the West and the East, are most appropriately separated by a vast interspace of oceans and continents. The two stand as wide apart in their internal economy as in their geographical situation. The English mind nurtured up in the climate of icy winds and bleak soils must be intrinsically unlike the Indian mind accustomed to the warmth of his tropical climate and to the ease of life in the East. Our rulers inhabit a country where man lives only by unremitting toil and where repose comes only after the fatigues of labour. But our more propitious regions require less toil from us and the serenity of eastern happiness is not therefore associated with manual exertion. The man of the north lives struggling with nature, and we of the south may be said to live in amity with her and on what she freely bestows upon us. Hence it is that while the former attaches almost exclusive importance to the material side of life, we as a nation are not equally in earnest about it. The Englishman with his strong individualism, with his exuberance of physical vigour and with his pride of power is quite the reverse of the timid Hindu who

gladly merges his individuality in the circle of his family and relations, who will gaze away his time in the dreamy consciousness of inward peace and the activities of whose life are mostly in the inward recesses of the mind. Mental growth is regulated in the Englishman by the external circumstances of his physical life, while in the Hindu it used to be regulated mainly by his spiritual and moral longings.

Now what we have to consider here is whether a system of education built up to meet the requirements of a nation like the English can be adapted to our mental conditions. English character is one sided and so must be the educational system of that people. It is true that this education has brought us new mental life, and is shedding new light on our surroundings. But it dazzles us by its attractive novelty. We are alike men waking up from a dream and show a tendency to discard as unreal and illogical all that we felt and did before the present awakening. Our national life, the structure of our society and our many institutions appear to us to be unreasonable in the new light of our education. We hear of the great inventors and scientists of England, of her orators and statesmen, of her poets and philosophers ; and straight way we are anxious that we grow into that nation so that their intellectual greatness, their wealth and prowess may become ours, as well. The constitution of our social and domestic life is galling to us, because it is not what we have learnt to admire. The new phenomena of European life to which we are thus suddenly introduced fascinate us by their novelty and apparent reasonableness, and we wish we were magicians to change by a single wave of our wands our country and ourselves to something like to what we find in the new land opened to our vision.

But how to do this? Even if it can be accomplished, is it desirable that we grow every inch natives of England or France? Is it, besides, possible to change the color of our nature to what we find elsewhere? In regard to the mere externals of Western Civilization, we can readily take them upon us. We may and do dress as the Englishman, and eat and live as he eats and lives. But can we think and act as he thinks and acts? And even if we can successfully imitate him here, will that suffice for the needs of our nature and of our nation?

True enlightenment, if our education has given it to us, should make us look about ourselves, and take correct soundings of our position before we make up our minds to steer in advance. Before we take the axe in our hands for the work of destroying the remnants of our ancient civilisation, we should take an estimate of the gaps that will be left and of the structures that should be erected to fill them up. The work of destruction is easy, but not that of construction. Old buildings unfit for habitation must necessarily be pulled down, but not the old sanctuaries in our hearts and souls where we ever kept a warm corner for our religion and morality. The over-growths of an ignorant age have to be cleared out, but not the underlying structure of solid marble, designed and perfected by the genius of a nation.

Now English education is not in its nature fitted for this work of discrimination. Western civilisation is essentially material. The necessities of physical existence have singly guided its lines of advance. The supply of the necessities and luxuries of life has been its exclusive aim ; and the mind of man has played a part in it only so far as it is an indispensable element in that bread-and-pleasure-winning career. Rivalry among individuals and among nations for the good things of the world has been the central and operative cause of Western civilisation, and has left its indelible mark upon it. With all its visible magnificence, European civilisation, is defective on the side of morality and religion. The fleets and manufactories of Europe, its armies and fortifications, its international polity, and even the machinery of administration in each of its units, all speak clearly of only one thing,—wealth and the means of increasing it. If these nations have at times acted from higher motives, that has been only at intervals of business, when they could spare time from the one pursuit of their existence. They are moral and religious in their leisure hours, and continuously active only in the cause of material gain. To them religion is, in the language of Emerson, “a holiday guest.” He asks, “in Christendom where is the Christian?” The poet Wordsworth was fully conscious of this besetting evil of Western civilisation and has expressed that

The world is too much with us ; late and soon.

Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers.

* * * * *

We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon !

If in spite of this deep-seated characteristic, European nations are found devoting their attention occasionally to the cause of morality and religion, that only shows how great their stock of energy and wealth is, and how much of their time they can in consequence give to these pursuits.

This fact, the worldly nature of the mainsprings of the modern civilization of Europe, historians of eminence have denied. They have declared that this civilization is unlike the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome and "that it is a rare exception in the history of the world." It has been asserted that the civilization of the Greeks was mainly tribal and military ; and the Romans have been accused of a policy of "organized exploitation by force and violence of weaker peoples." It is difficult for us to comprehend the real drift of these statements. Modern Europe is as militant and her nations are as ready to cut each other's throats as the petty states of Greece were in their days. Europe is armed to the teeth and each nation makes enormous sacrifices to bring up its military equipments to a level with those of its neighbours. The peace of Europe is an armed peace, no nation, whatever its strength, being so much more powerful than its possible opponents as to venture upon war on its own account. All the nations sit round the bones of contention with watchful eyes and make ample professions of peace while strengthening their military armaments. If Europe is not to-day a scene of warfare and bloodshed, it is not because of the influence of any principle of humanity unknown to the ancients, but is due entirely to the fear felt by all of retarding the accession of wealth and of destroying the machinery of industry and trade. The acquisition of wealth is the sole motive of action in the West, and the higher impulses influence those nations only in subordination to this main spring of action.

The partition of Africa is a standing disgrace to the boasted humanity of European civilization. The three powerful nations of Western Europe have entered into a division of central Africa to which the Africans themselves were no parties. They found that the natives of that continent were divided and weak, that the country was fertile and habitable to the European, and have played over again the story of the lion and the lamb. The richness of its

resources has led to the spoliation of its children by the covetous nations of Europe, and we hear of the African Empire of Uganda and Mashonland brought under the sway of Imperial England.

Does this show that there is any room for the boast of Europeans that their civilization is ethical more than intellectual? Does it show a preponderance of benevolence over selfishness? The individual, it has been said, now forgets self for the sake of others; and this tendency to self-sacrifice is asserted to be the glory of the Christian religion. The equilization of man's rights and responsibilities among the nations of Europe, and the steady increase of energy and enterprize among them have been traced not to the struggle for existence and the spread of intelligence under the stress of rivalry and competition, but to a supposed fund of altruistic feeling with which Western civilization has been equipped by the religious system on which that civilization is dependent.

Can this be the right view of Christian influence and European progress? Does history teach us that in the middle ages when the Church of Rome was supreme and the crusades were fought, and when nameless scenes were being enacted in the city of the pontiffs, whether, in those ages of feudalism and ignorance, the religious and moral impulses of Christianity were on the ascendant? Was it benevolence or the love of God that fought the Wars of the Roses or led to the bloody wars with France consequent on the unrighteous intrusion of the English king in her affairs? Was it not the impiety of the monks and the open sale of tickets to heaven that led to the revolt under Luther? Again why had not Christianity brought up the French nation which had adhered to it for wellnigh fourteen centuries, in God-fearing ways, so as to have averted the horrors of the Reign of Terror under Danton and Robespierre? If the horrors of the French Revolution were unknown in England, it was due not to the abnegation of the selfish impulses in favour of the unselfish ones, but to the timely concessions made to the people by the privileged classes and to their retreat at the proper moment from their untenable position. The tendency, now strong, to equalize the several strata of society, is due almost exclusively to the upheaval of the great unwashed and to their rising intelligence and growing unrest. There is no force in the argument that would ascribe to Christianity the whole social progress of Europe from the earliest

times. The religion of Christ, as it was taught by him, though not as it is practised by his so-called followers, has a code of moral conduct vastly superior to any that was comprised in the religions of Europe which it supplanted. The Greeks and the Romans placed midway between the East and the West had a religion neither prominently individualistic as Christianity, nor prominently Universalistic as Hinduism. Their ideas about religion were more human than divine, and they seem to have had no time to carry up their religious conceptions to their universalistic conclusions. Their ideas on religion remained therefore as tribal and local as those of the Old Testament. The short duration of their political autonomy cut short their opportunities of spiritual advancement, and their religion had no time to send down its roots into the philosophical certainties of existence, and could not therefore maintain its ground against the ascetic earnestness of early Christianity. The barbarians of Germany and of the north of Europe generally felt no hesitation in transferring their allegiance from the primitive gods of their woods and mountains to the mysterious personage exalted by the Christians high above the mountains ; and their minds succumbed without so much as a thought, to the gorgeous pageantry of Catholicism. But Western civilization however much it was helped by the new religion has had its perennial source in the character of the races of Europe modified as it is by the peculiarities of the climate, soil and geographical position of each country. It must be admitted that in the first centuries after the settlement of the barbarians in Italy and the South of Europe, the Church gave them peace by its audacious pretensions to dispose of the crowns of European countries as it chose and to settle, as the supreme arbiter of Christendom, all disputes among nations and sovereigns. It also diverted the fiery spirit of the martial races that came under its influence into the fatal plains of Palestine and thereby also strengthened the bond of brotherhood among them. Thus was secured a set of circumstances in which Europe had rest and peace, such as they were, and could concentrate its young energies on the development of its material resources.

That Christianity did no more than this is rendered obvious by the results of the acceptance of it by countries like Greece and Italy, and the states of South America. These have been enjoying

the blessings of that religion, whatever those blessings may be, now for many hundreds of years. But what is there in Christian Greece and Christian Italy to compare with pagan Greece and pagan Italy? These countries continue to stagnate to the present day or were stagnating till recently while their Christian brethren of the north-west of Europe have been advancing with rapid strides. Pagan Greece was the land of heroes. The names of Homer and Hesiod, of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, of Herodotus, Xenophon and Thucydides, of Pericles and Aristides, and of a host of others who maintain to this day their "soveran" greatness, these names rise to our lips at the very mention of Greece. Where and what are the descendants of this galaxy of the elect of the human race? The mountains and seas that nurtured their high souls are still there. But

'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more ;

We start, for soul is wanting there.

Paganism, the worship of Jupiter and Apollo, stood not in the way of its greatness, but Christianity has not succeeded in making it a prosperous nation, much less in bringing back to it its former glory. Greece and Italy accepted the Christian religion early in its career of conquest; and theirs was no half-hearted acceptance of it. But the new religion has not raised them up even to a level of prosperity with the other nations of Europe. It must have taught them long ago its lesson of universal benevolence and weaned them off from the selfish and military spirit laid at the door of their ancient civilizations. But this lesson seems to have borne no fruit whatever; and the only explanation is that the Greeks and even the Italians have not yet been brought fully within the sphere of rivalry and competition for material wealth on which alone is dependant the civilization of the West.

Italy was the stronghold of the Christian religion till the period of the Reformation. The Popes, who were the sole custodians of its virtues, lived and ruled in Italy. The first stir of the Revival of Learning was experienced in that country and it spread to the rest of Europe from it as a centre. Yet it remained a land of dormant greatness, "less wretched if less fair," till very recent years,

While aye her pipers sadly piped of her
Until their proper breaths, in that extreme
Of sighing, split the reed on which they played.

Her emancipation came to her from the genius of a warrior statesman who welded her divided territories into one solid kingdom and whose promptings came to him not from Christianity, but in spite of it.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples, as the same tale is told by Spain and Portugal, Germany and Russia and by the united countries of the Christian continent of South America. The dogma that Europe progressed in the past and is progressing now because of the Christian unselfishness of its peoples must appear to be peculiarly a perversion of truth to Indian minds. To us with what we know of European politics, this boast must appear strange. Our sacrifices for the fortifications and strategic railways on the north-western frontier of our country against the ever-expected invasion of the land by the Christian emperor of all the Russias, the occupation of Burma and the extermination of the so-called dacoits of that country, and the many other little affairs which our Government now and then finds on its hands, make it a hard morsel for us to swallow, if we are told to believe that European civilization is unreasonably unselfish under the influence of Christianity.

I have been so long endeavouring to impress upon you the true nature of that civilization to which we owe the system of education now prevailing in this country. This system is exactly what that civilization has made it to be, or rather what has brought about that civilization. It is essentially an education fitted only to develop the material side of our nature; and its effect on the moral and religious elements in us is not and cannot be what it ought to be. It should not be supposed that this defect in it is due to the peculiar position our Government has to take up in this country in the matter of education, because of the divergence of religion between the rulers and the ruled. It cannot, even if it wills it, change its nature, and the stamp on it of the materiality of Western civilization is ineradicable.

I have, I believe, succeeded in showing that, a godsend as this English education is in the special circumstances of our age, it is yet ill-adapted to develop to the fullest extent the whole of our nature, and that this defect in it is due to the source from which we get it; and it must be clear that we should try our best to supplement it, therefore, with help from other sources. Western Education

being material to the core, and the religion of the West being but an accident working only on the outskirts of Western civilization, the system of education that has grown up on such foundations must labour under similar disadvantages. And we should fall back, therefore, upon ourselves and upon the strength of our own national life, to remedy the evil. We should try to get over the irrational pride of youthful conceit that would discard the ancient lore of the land as antiquated and impractical. It is this unpractical side of education that is important for us as human beings. If we have anything in us more than the body, if there is in us an immortal spirit which alone makes us what we are, then a due attention to its present nature and future hopes, unpractical though it may appear to be, is yet what we cannot afford to neglect. Remember that India is no young land, like the United States of America, but has monuments and traditions that take back her history to many thousands of years. And

Great men have been among us; hands that penned
And tongues that uttered wisdom—better none.
Remember that, In everything we are sprung
Of earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

Human institutions result from a complexity of causes and man's mind is not merely a bread-desiring entity. It has other yearnings which all nations in their wiser moments have placed and even now do place in the forefront of human aspirations. You will find the first place assigned to morality and religion even by the wealth-earning civilization of the West at moments of temporary relaxation from that pursuit. Its poets have sung

Of truth, of grandeur, beauty, love and hope,
Of blessed consolation in distress,
Of moral strength and intellectual power,
Of the individual mind that keeps her own
Inviolatè retirement, subject there
To conscience only, and the law supreme
Of that Intelligence which governs all.

I regret that I have no time, even if I have the ability, to turn to the constructive side of the question, and point out where and how we should seek for help in this our sad plight. I shall only repeat the warning against the dangers of trusting too much to the

so-called enlightenment of your present system of education which starves out your ethical and religious natures. I would only repeat the old-fashioned request that you should think before you act, and that you should approach the sacred institutions of our ancient Hindustan not with the irreverence of the iconoclast, but with the meekness of the humble enquirer into the mysteries of existence and the solemnities of the universal Lord. Remember that we "stem across the sea of life by night"; and that our soul should be well-knit to enable us to win life's battles and mount to eternal life. Nurse up your national spirit that its wings may soar up again to the immortal heights known to your ancestors. Beware of the danger lurking in the honeyed words of our interested opponents. They are strangers imbued with the dogmas of a materialised god and cannot understand and appreciate either the inborn tendencies of the reticent Hindu or the innate majesty of his divine religion. Beware of the means they employ to get you under their influence, to spread their coils round your inexperienced hearts and draw their net tightly round you, depriving you of the power, nay, of the desire for freedom. But I have faith in you and in our nation. The Mahametan swept unopposed over the countries of Asia but fell back baffled in his mission of religious propogandism only when confronted by the philosophical firmness of Hindustan. I have no doubt that the minds of our youths will naturally return into themselves as soon as the first flush of the new cult of selfishness in the disguise of reason is over. I sit down requesting you to remember that "the aids to noble life are all within" and that there is not a man

That lives who hath not known his god-like hours,
And feels not what an empire we inherit
As natural beings in the strength of nature.

N. VAITHIANADHAN.

HWEN-THSANG : THE CHINESE PILGRIM.

[The books consulted in preparing this paper are : Julien's French translation of the Chinese account of Hwen-Thsang's Life and Travels by Hoëli and Yen-Thsong, Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Yule's notes on the Travels of Hwen-Thsang in Vol. VI., of the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Fergusson's article on Hwen-Thsang's route from Patna to Vallabhi in same volume and the article on Hwen-Thsang in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*—Ninth Edition.]

Hwen-Thsang was born in the district of Keushi near Hónan Fu in the year 605 A. D. He was the youngest of four sons and showed signs of great intelligence from very childhood. His father reading to him one day out of a book of filial piety came to the passage where the pupil Tseng-tseu leaves his seat to honor his teacher Confucius; when the little eight-year-old fellow rose and on being asked why, said, "When Tseng-tseu received instruction from the master, he left his seat and rose up to revere him. Is it for Hwen-Thsang to remain seated when receiving such gracious lessons from you?"

The father, it may be believed, was charmed and augured future greatness for such a towardly child, wise and reverent beyond his years. And the child did not belie the early promise. The passion for study grew with the child's growth and not even the attractions of young men and maids joining in great crowds to assist in public festivities would make him stir out of his study.

An elder brother of Hwen-Thsang who had settled as a monk at Lo-yang in Hanan gave him the ply which settled his future career. He too became a monk and took his residence with his brother at Lo-yang. While there the doctrine of Nirvana was explained to him. He applied himself to the study with such ardour that he hardly found time for sleep or meals. His fame as a religious student and later on as an expounder of religious truths grew apace. Going to the Convent at Kingchu to resolve his doubts, he is honored with consultations by various learned monks. The King of Han-Yang hears of a conference where Hwen-Thsang is to play a prominent part and forthwith he proceeds with his courtiers to hear him. Many are the sages assembled on the occasion. The

young monk has an easy victory over them all. The king struck with admiration wanted to load him with presents, but he would accept none.

Finding that many difficulties of doctrine which occurred to him in studies could not be cleared up by the sages in China, Hwen-Thsang wanted to travel to India to study the doctrines of Buddha at the fountain-head. So he and some others who were of the same mind with him petitioned to the emperor to be permitted to travel to India. The emperor refused permission. All but Hwen-Thsang gave up the project. But he nothing daunted pursued his inquiries about the route and resolved to go by himself rather than give up the long-cherished plan of a pilgrimage to India.

Encouraged by an auspicious dream, he started from Liang-Cheu on the eighth month of the third year of the period of Ching-kwong, *i. e.*, according to Cunningham's calculation, on the 1st of August, 629. Eluding the vigilance of the border official he arrives at Kua-Cheu. He learns there the dangerous nature of the journey before him. The horse on which he travelled so far dies there and the inquiries of the government spies about a monk who had left Liang-cheu secretly do not add to his comfort.

The governor of the place wanting to favour the traveller advises him to depart secretly and he quits the place. He furnishes himself with another horse and picks up some guides on the way. The guides leave him when he reaches the sandy desert which extends to the north and the north-west of the Soulaiho (the Edzina of our maps).

The journey through the desert was full of many trials for the solitary traveller. He had to guide himself by the bleaching bones of those who had journeyed before him or by the dung of horses which had served to carry such way-farers. The mirage played him many a trick. All at once it would appear as though there were hundreds of soldiers covering the plain, all mounted on camels or horses richly caparisoned. This scene would give place to another and yet another one equally delusive. The pilgrim devoutly prayed to be saved from the demons whose work these illusions seemed to be.

After crossing the desert of Gobi with unheard of difficulties, the intrepid Chinaman reaches Igu (the Khamil of our maps). Then

passing by Karachar and Kouche, he travels along the southern part of the Thian-Shan range of mountains. Here is the traveller's description of the mountain Ling-Chan (near the sources of the Sir Daria): "The summit of the mountain reaches as high as the sky. Since the beginning of the world the snow has been accumulating and has been changed into blocks of ice which melt neither in spring nor in summer. Sheets of hard and glittering ice were seen spread out one on another till they got confounded with the clouds. The spectator is dazzled with the brilliancy. There are met with ice-clad peaks stooping on the sides of the route, some being hundred feet high and others dozens of feet thick. As they were not to be crossed without difficulty, neither might they be ascended without peril. Add to this squalls of winds and whirl-pools of snow the traveller is assailed by every moment and in such sort that even the lined shoes and the furcoats of the way-farer are not able to keep him from shivering in the cold."

It occupied the traveller seven days to traverse the difficult gorges of the mountain and fourteen of the escort that accompanied him along the base of the range died from the inclemency of the weather. Then he arrived on the shores of a great lake which has been identified as Lake Issikul. The Khan of the country is very gracious to the Pilgrim and treats him with the greatest respect. He is persuaded by the genial presence of the Buddhist enthusiast to renounce the worship of fire and embrace Buddhism. When Hwen-Thsang departs the Khan sends with him one versed in the local dialects and the Chinese tongue to accompany our traveller as far as Kapisa (the modern Kushan).

From the lake region the Chinaman proceeds to Tashkend and thence to Samarkand where also he finds the practice of fire worship. He converts the king to the Buddhist religion and the people follow suit. At Hwo* which he next reaches he has to stop for a month on account of the funerals of the king. From there he goes to Bactra (Balkh), passes through the kingdom of Gatchi (valley drained by the Durya?) and traversing some snow covered mountains reaches Bamian. He spends at the latter place fifteen days visiting Buddhistic remains.

* Cunningham identifies it with Khulu and Yule with Kunduz.

Departing from that place he has to cross the Hindu Kush before reaching Kapisa. The whole of summer is spent at Kapisa. The king of the country pleased with the controversial skill and the profound knowledge of Hwen-Thsang presents him with five pieces of plain silk.

Lamghan, Nagarahara and Gandhara mark the next stages of the Pilgrim's advance towards India. Nagarahara has been identified with Jelalabad and Gandhara with the district north of Kabul having Peshawar for its Capital. Leaving Peshawar the Chinaman proceeds to Utakhanda which M. Julien identifies with Attock and Cunningham with Ohind a few miles above Attock.

From here commences that portion of the Pilgrim's progress which is of the greatest interest to us.

The first region of India that the traveller examines is the doab between the Indus and the Jhelum.* The traditional holiness of the region is attested by innumerable edifices dedicated to the Buddhistic religion and its ministers and by the multitude of *stupas* found therein. Hwen-Thsang next proceeds to Kashmir. The king, hearing of the intended visit, sends his uncle with chariots and horses to receive him with due honor. The religious men of the place are warned by a dream of the great Chinaman's arrival. They are shamed out of their lethargy and apply themselves to pious duties. When the Pilgrim had come very near the Capital, the king and his courtiers and the monks from the *viharas* advanced to welcome him. The road was covered with standards and umbrellas and all the way was bestrewn with sweet and odorous flowers. When the king came before Hwen-Thsang, he overwhelmed him with praises and strewed as a mark of respect a great quantity of flowers before him. Then mounting him on a big elephant the king returned to the capital and lodged the guest in Jayendra Vihara built by his father-in-law.

Here our hero diligently applied himself to the studies of the *Sastras* under the guidance of an *Acharya* who was delighted with the rare intelligence and the unconquerable energy of his pupil. The king engages many copyists to get for the traveller manuscript copies of many rare works not to be had in China.

* This is the view of M. Julien here followed. Cunningham supposes the place to be Swat, (Kafistan) on the further side of the Indus.

After a stay of two years in Kashmir, during which he visits all the sacred monuments of his religion, Hwen-Thsang takes leave of the king and the monks, and crossing many mountains and torrents arrives at Punch in Oct. 633. We have next to follow our traveller from Punch to Rajpura or Rajaori and thence to Jayapura and Sakala. Soon after Hwen-Thsang's leaving the last place the usual monotony of the journey is broken (agrecably for us) by an attack of robbers on the party of our Pilgrim as they were traversing a grove of Palasa trees (*Butea Frondosa*). After easing the travellers of their robes and provisions, the brigands pursue the party sword in hand up to a tank. Arrived there the *Sramanas* (the Buddhist pilgrims) find the bed dry and covered with thorny bushes. Afraid of loss of life as they were, they break through the bushes and finding underneath a large cavern they all conceal themselves in it. After the robbers go away they come out and run south-east. The tale of distress reaching the ears of a Brahmin-field-labourer, he runs to the village and summons the people to pursue the robbers. But it was all too late and there was no overtaking the robbers. Their victims are then attended to: they are clothed and fed. The Master of the Law—as our traveller is called often in the Chinese biography—preaches the Buddhist doctrine to the people and saves them from error. This business occupies him a month. From this place he goes to Chinapati or Haibat (according to Cunningham) where he remains the whole of the year 634.

The next important place the traveller reaches is Mathura (Muttra). Going from there along the banks of the Jumna he arrives at Thaneshvar and proceeding thence eastward to Srughna halts there for winter and spring. Part of spring and the whole of summer are taken up by the pilgrim's studies at Mandawar or Mandor in Rohilcund. After visiting some of the neighbouring kingdoms Hwen-Thsang comes to Kanoj. The last king was a Vaisya of the name of Harshavardhana. When he was killed by the neighbouring King of Karna-Suvarna his younger brother Siladitya succeeded him. The pacific reign of the prince promoted the happiness of the people. Every year he fed a number of the monks or the *religiosi* 3 or 7 days and every five years he held an assembly (called Moksha Mahaparichat) and distributed alms. Hwen-Thsang

stayed at Kanoj for three months and busied himself with religious studies.

Then he next proceeded to Ayodhya. While travelling in that province he was well-nigh made a victim to Kali by certain robber-devotees of hers. In their search after a fitting victim for their favourite deity they lighted upon the party of Hwen-Thsang and struck by the noble and distinguished air of the Pilgrim resolved to sacrifice him on the altar. The Master of the Law pleaded to be spared, explaining to them the objects of his mission. But the chieftain unmoved wanted the men to proceed to the sacrifice. betraying not the least fear or emotion, Hwen requested a respite for a few minutes to prepare himself for *Nirvana*. He was allowed the request. He prayed devoutly to Buddha and a feeling of exceeding peace and joy bathed his soul and he remained unconscious of the fate that awaited him. All at once a sudden storm arose tore up the trees by the roots and caused the sands to whirl. The robbers struck with terror learn all about his greatness and let him go.

Among the places visited next by our traveller were Prayag (Allahabad), then, as now, held sacred, Kapilavastu where Buddha was born, Kusinagara where he died and Varnasi where he first began to preach. Thence he went to Tirhut, visited Vaisali, made an excursion to Nepal and returning by Vaisali crossed the Ganges and came to Magada—the part of India about which we have the fullest information. If we recall the fact that Magadha corresponds with Bihar the derivation of which from *Vihara* (a Buddhist monastery) tells us that the Buddhist religion was strong there, we shall not be surprised at the wealth of detail that the Buddhist pilgrim from China has lavished on this part of his itinerary. ‘There is not,’ says M. Julien, ‘there is not in all the vast territory to which the traveller dedicated five whole years, a single religious edifice, a single *Stupa* or commemorative pyramid, a single *Vihara* or convent that the narrative does not mention with details often very circumstantial.’ The later researches of scholars fully confirm the account of the Chinese traveller and we are enabled to reconstruct in some detail the map of this part of India in ancient times.

I shall content myself with giving a sample or two of the stories the traveller has diligently gathered about the places he visited.

To the east of Ramagrama was a *Stupa* containing the relics of Buddha. Near it was a tank of dragons. These would often change themselves into men and go respectfully round the *Stupa*. And savage elephants would often come with flowers and strew them round about the *Stupa* in honor of the relics.* A Bhikshu or mendicant called his fellow disciples to pay their respects to the *Stupa*. On their arriving near the place they noticed how the elephants culled the flowers, weeded the soil with their teeth and watered the ground with their trunks. The spectacle astonished and moved them exceedingly. 'The elephants serve piously Buddha thus. Shall man do less?' said the Bhikshu. And he made himself a habitation, planted a flower garden there and worked hard at it. The neighbouring princes moved by his devotion gave him rich gifts wherewith he might beautify the *Stupa*. There is no end of such Puranic stories in the narrative of the life of Hwen-Thsang.

Our hero now spent a great part of his time in the monastery of Nalanda which did the same service to the Buddhist religion that Cluny or Clairvaux did to the Catholic religion. He perfected there his knowledge of Sanskrit and the outline of the grammar given in the life may be appreciated for faithfulness even by the beginner.

From Magadha our traveller proceeds through Champa (now Pathargata on the Ganges—Cunningham) Kanjkol (eighteen miles to the South of Rajamahar) and Poundravardhana* to Kamrup (Asam). Turning southward Hwen proceeded to Samatata or the Gangetic delta and passed by the coast town of Tamrilipti.† From this last place he wanted to go to Ceylon in which there were many men versed in the doctrines of the Buddhist religion. But before he began the journey he met with an Indian monk of the South who advised him to go further South and then take ship to Ceylon.

Accordingly the Master of the Law proceeded to Charitrapura § and thence to Orissa.

The Pilgrim's travels take him southward along the coast line of the Bay of Bengal except when he makes excursions into the

Cf.—The story of the pious elephant which gives the name according to popular etymology to Kalahasti.

* *i. e.* Burdwan says M. Julien and Pubna says Cunningham.

† *i. e.* Tamruk—Cunningham and Dutt. Dr. Fergusson thinks otherwise.

§ Tamrilipti and Charitrapura, both coast towns near the mouths of the Ganges; Charitrapura is Tamlak according to Fergusson,

interior of Maha Kosala and Jorya. In his first departure into the interior to Mahakosala (Central India) Dr. Fergusson supposes Hwen to have left higher up than Rajamahendri whence Mr. Cunningham supposes him to have proceeded. He returns again to the Coast near Bezwada. Again he goes from there to Jorya near where the Tungabhadra joins the Kristna. Then he takes a south-easterly route and reaches Kanchipuram. This is generally identified with the place of pilgrimage of the same name in the Chingleput district. But Dr. Fergusson is inclined to make Kanchipuram nearly identical with Negapatam in the Tanjore District. The description given by the Chinese writers countenances the theory of Dr. Fergusson. "The town of Kanchi is situated *on a port of the sea* at the point of Southern India *in face of the kingdom of Sinhala*, where one might arrive after three days of navigation."

Here our friend met three *religiosi* from Ceylon who on being asked by him as to the state of the country warned him from going to it as it was in a disturbed state owing to the death of Raja Buna Mugalan in 639. So he gives up the project of going to Ceylon and strikes off in a western direction. He hears of Melakuta situated near the sea extremely rich and abounding in products as rich as various (Madura evidently) and Malaya (Malabar) where grow the Tchantanipo (sandal trees). The wood, says the traveller, is like the white poplar. As it is very cool, a great number of serpents attach themselves to it in summer. But when winter returns, they conceal themselves in the ground. This is what serves to distinguish that species of sandal—adds the traveller.

An interesting account is given of how the name of Sinhala arose. A daughter of one of the Kings of South India being affianced in marriage to a neighbouring prince was going through a forest in the course of her journey to her husband's kingdom. A lion crossing the path of the princess and her party, the servants who formed the escort fled in terror in different directions and left the princess alone. The beast approached the helpless beauty, took her on his back and fled far into the caverns of a mountain. Safely housing her, the lion played the host admirably by bringing her, daily, fruits and animals slain in the chase to serve as food for her. Thus supported and living with the lion the young princess brought forth after some years a boy and a girl. Though the children were

human in shape, their character was violent and ferocious. The son when grown to a man's estate asked his mother how he was to class himself—with the beast as his father was or with his human mother. She then narrated her unhappy story. The son asked her why they should not flee and live by themselves. The mother was quite willing to escape and she waited only for an opportunity. Then they all fled and sought for the father of the princess. The family had become extinct. Then finding themselves without shelter they lived as best they could in the far off woods.

On his return, the lion, finding his wife and children gone, grew ferocious and slaughtered many men and women in his fury. The king of the country on being informed of the ravages of the lion made a proclamation of reward to whoever might kill the lion. Meanwhile the princess and the children being reduced to the last stage of famine, the son said he would slay the lion and claim the reward. He accordingly went forth in pursuit of the lion, and the lion espying him was glad of his approach and remained quiet. The son taking advantage of this cut the throat of the father lion. When the king heard the truth, he gave the promised present but banished the mother and the hybrid family from the kingdom. They were put in different ships and sent to drift at the mercy of the waves. The ship in which was the son reached the Island and he settled there. The Island came to be known as Sinhala—the island of the lion's son. *

The ship of the daughter went westward and got stranded in Polasse or Persia. There she came into the power of demons and her union with them resulted in a multitude of daughters. The kingdom, says the traveller, is called at present the Kingdom of the Daughters of the West. Knowing as we do the strong belief the people of Malabar have in demons and also the position of importance which women occupy in families there, the name would rather seem applicable to Malabar. Mr. Logan in his Malabar Manual is inclined to identify the place with the Laccadives.

To return to our traveller ; he goes through Konkan and Maharashtra. The Mahrattas, says Hwen-Thsang, hold honour and

* The etymology of Sinhala may be about as correct as the popular etymology of Brasenose College which has caused the affixing of a brass-nose to the front of the College.

duty in high estimation and are not afraid of death. The King is of the race of Kshatriyas. He has martial tastes and puts in the first rank glory in arms. If a general is defeated in battle he is given the dress of woman. So the men prefer death to dishonor.

Hwen-Thsang crosses the Narbada and visits Barouche. From there he travels to Malwa, the inhabitants impressing him as sweet and polished in manners and fond of culture. Vallabhi, the next important town reached by the traveller, is placed by Cunningham in the peninsula of Guzerat and by Fergusson more to the north near Mount Abu. Dhrevapatu, son-in-law of Siladitya, was the reigning Kshatriya King. He used each year to have a religious assembly to which came the most renowned men from various parts of India.

Anandapura identified by M. St. Martin with Barnagor, Sourashtra or Guzerat, Gurjara or West Rajputana, Ujain and Mahesvarapura (now Mandala) next see our traveller. Returning from the last place to Guzerat, Hwen next proceeds northward, visits several places near and about Scinde and reaches Multan. He finds the inhabitants worshipping Aditya or the Sun-God. The temple of the God, says the traveller, is a magnificent building. The statue or idol is of molten gold and ornamented with all sorts of precious stones. The inhabitants of neighbouring kingdoms come in great crowds to address their prayers to the God.

Travelling about 120 miles east of Multan, the Master of the Law reaches the kingdom of Parvata. There he studies under the directions of learned men the *Sastras* for two months in a famous convent adjoining the town. After the two month's stay he returns once more to the monastery of Nalanda (now Baragaon) near Gaya. He makes a diligent study of the *Sastras* for the solution of his doubts.

We next find our Chinaman spending his time as an earnest religious student in the Yatchivana Giri under famous teachers like Jayasena and Cilabhadra. He has a controversial victory over Simharasmi. He has yet another controversy with a Brahmin champion of the Lokayatas. The Brahmin formulated the tenets of the particular sect in forty articles and suspended them at the gate of the convent saying, "If any one should refute the truth of a single article, I shall allow him to cut off my head in token of his

victory." Some days passed without any person responding to the insolent challenge of the Brahmin. Then the Master of the Law sent a monk bidding him take down the writing and tread it under foot. The incensed Brahmin asked the Pilgrim who he was to have the writing treated with such scant courtesy. "I am", said Hwen-Thsang, "the slave of Mahayanadeva" (*i. e.*, follower of the Great Vehicle.) The Brahmin who had known him long by his reputation was filled with confusion and dared not carry on the discussion with him. The Master of the Law would not let him slip out and a discussion was carried on between both under the auspices of Cilabhadra. In the course of the discussion Hwen-Thsang thus described the different sects of heretical Brahmins that existed at the time: "The *Bhutās* rub their bodies with ashes and imagine that they thereby do an act of great merit. Their skin is of a livid white as that of a cat which lay in a chimney. The *Nirgranthas* believe it a great merit to go about naked and fancy it an act of virtue to pull away the hair. Their skins are cut up and their feet hard and cracked, like rotten trees on the banks of rivers. The *Kapalikas* have chaplets of skullbones which they put round their heads or necks. They dwell in caves in the rocks like demons haunting the tombs. As for the *Joutikas* they carry on their backs vestments dirty with ordure and they eat of putrified meat and corrupt viands. They are as infectious and loathsome as hogs wallowing in drains." The last sect seems to be the same as the Aghorapanthis one of which sect Monier Williams saw at Benares. *

The Master of the Law passed in review the chief points of Sankhya and Vaiseshika systems and demonstrated easily their ridiculousness and absurdity. The Brahmin was thoroughly crushed down by the reasoning and had not a single word to say by way of reply. At last he rose and said: "Now that I have been vanquished in argument you are welcome to take advantage of my agreement and cut off my head." "We, children of Sakya," said the Master of the Law, "we do no evil to men. Now I will content myself with making you a slave bound to obey my will." The Brahmin, it is said, was transported with joy and followed Hwen-Thsang with the greatest respect.

* p. 94 Religious Thought and Life in India.

While in this convent an astrologer of the sect of *Nirgranthas* comes to the convent and is asked by Hwen-Thsang what time it would take for him to return to China and if he would return without any mishap. The *Nirgrantha* takes a piece of chalk and traces different lines on the ground and tells him of a happy future. "I desire to return quickly," says Hwen-Thsang, "but as I carry a great number of books and statues, I do not know if I shall have a happy journey." "Do not you disquiet yourself," replies the astrologer, "the Kings Siladitya and Kumara will send an escort; be sure you will reach home without any accident." "How may that be? I have not seen the two kings up to this moment. How will they deign to do me such a service?" "King Kumara" says the astrologer, "has already sent messengers to get you to his court. They will arrive in two or three days. After seeing King Kumara you will also see King Siladitya."

As the astrologer said, so it came to pass. The Master of the Law wanting to return to China began his preparations for departure and carefully packed his books and statues. As the news spread, the *religiosi* ran to him and exhorted him to stay in the land of Buddha and not to return to China where only *mlechas* ignorant of the Law live. Hwen-Thsang would not stay as the very object of his mission was to spread the truths of Buddhism among his countrymen. Cilabhadra and others could not but admit the reasonableness of the Pilgrim's views and did not stand in the way of his future plans.

Meanwhile messengers came from Kumara, King of Kamarupa or Assam, with pressing invitations for the Master of the Law. Hwen-Thsang accordingly goes there and is received with every mark of honor. Each day he is offered a banquet to the accompaniment of music. He has flowers spread and sweet-smelling spices burnt before him and he is given all sorts of rich gifts. This brilliant reception lasts for a month.

King Siladitya of Magadha returning from his expedition against the King of Kanyodha hears of Hwen-Thsang's stay at Kamarupa and wishing to see him sends a message to King Kumara to bring the Master of the Law with him to his court. On hearing this, Kumara said he would rather lose his head than comply with the request. A more threatening message from Magadha

brings him to his senses. Then accompanied by Hwen-Thsang he goes to Magadha. On his arrival the Master of the Law is duly honored. Siladitya prostrating himself before him kisses his feet with respect. Then he spreads flowers before him and contemplating the Master with ecstasy heaps praises on him. Hwen-Thsang explains why he was unable to come to him earlier and tells him of the glories of the Emperor of China. The King expresses his admiration for a controversial treatise our Pilgrim had written against the heretics.

In the beginning of winter Siladitya attended by Hwen-Thsang proceeded to Kanoj to attend the religious assembly to be held there. As many as eighteen kings of Central India came to honor the assembly. Three thousand *religiosi* following the Great or the Little Vehicle *, two thousand Brahmins and Nirgranthas and about a thousand monks of the convent of Nalanda came to witness the religious discussions. There came also to hear the true accents of the Law the great sages renowned as well for their vast knowledge as for their powers of eloquence. They were accompanied by a large number of followers. Some came on elephants others in palanquins and each group had its own banners and standards.

The assembly spread over miles of ground. There were two vast palaces each accommodating a thousand persons. The King's tent was pitched a mile to the west of the assembly hall.

On the morning of the assembly day there was a procession from the King's tent to the hall. Heading the procession was a large image of Buddha of molten gold placed on a dais inlaid with precious stones and mounted on an elephant. King Siladitya with a white *Chamara* came on the right dressed as Indra. Kumara came on the left side of the image carrying a rich silk umbrella and he had the costume of Brahma. Both wore rich crowns worthy of the divine personages they represented and adorned with flowers and precious stones. They were followed by elephants 'endorsed' † with baskets of flowers which they strewed about as they advanced.

The Master of the Law and the officers of the palace mounted also on elephants came immediately after the Kings. Then followed in rows three hundred elephants on which were mounted the

* Different schools of Buddhism.

† Elephants *endorsed* with towers.—Milton.

other kings and their ministers and celebrated religious men from different kingdoms chanting the praises of Buddha.

After the figure was duly installed in the assembly hall, there was a feast for all the men assembled and rich presents were given to Hwen-Thsang and the *religiosi*. After the distribution of gifts, the Master of the Law seated himself at the request of King Siladitya on a richly ornamented chair as president of the solemn conference. Before opening the discussion he caused a small abstract of the doctrine of the Great Vehicle to be suspended at the gate with the challenge: "If a single word in this be shown erroneous and capable of being refuted I forfeit my head to the victor in the argument."

The writing remained suspended till the evening nobody daring to accept the challenge. Then all the men returned to their respective lodgings for the night.

Next day they reassembled and the discussions began and continued for four days. Hwen-Thsang spoke in support of the doctrines of the Great Vehicle and had victory over his opponents. A plot formed against his life by the envious vanquished was promptly crushed by the proclamation of Siladitya. The partisans of error ran away in fright on hearing the proclamation. On the last day of the assembly Hwen-Thsang praised with enthusiasm the merits and virtues of Buddha.

When the assembly breaks up our Pilgrim wants to take leave of Siladitya who requests him to accompany him to a quinquennial assembly he holds at Prayag. They all proceed to Prayag and there is the same magnificence displayed as at Kanoj and the distribution of gifts are if possible more lavish to the *religiosi*, the Brahmins, the poor and the orphans. This assembly lasts for seventy-five days.

Then with the greatest difficulty Hwen-Thsang persuades Siladitya and Kumara to allow him to return to his country. They agree most unwillingly to let him go, accompany him on his way for some miles and take leave of him with tears and sighs. A strong escort is placed at the disposal of the Chinaman to lessen the difficulties of the journey and letters are dispatched to different kings to make them attend to the conveniences of the traveller.

After visiting Kosambi, our hero proceeds through Jalandhar, Sinhapuram (Ketar, according to Cunningham) and Taxila, and crosses the Indus at Utakhanda. This he does in December 643. As he entered India in December 630, his sojourn in India comes exactly to thirteen years. The return route of our traveller from India takes us through Lamghan, Ghazni and Kapisa (where is held a religious assembly which Hwen-Thsang attends), over the Hindu Kush, through the valley of Badakshan, over the Pamir Plateau and across the kingdoms of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan.

Entering China at Cha-Chow, Hwen-Thsang writes from there to the Emperor who was then at Lo-yang. The traveller has a magnificent reception and is treated with great favour by his sovereign. Though entreated by him to assist him in the affairs of the state, Hwen-Thsang remains true to his first love and pleads that the books and the manuscripts he has brought from India need all his attention and that he is busy translating them. His application to this work is so great that his health suffers. The Emperor sends the palace-physician and requests him to take a short respite from his labours. Accordingly Hwen-Thsang takes a holiday and revisits the place of his birth and he learns from his sister, the only surviving member of the family, of the death of his parents and does in honour of the departed all that a pious Chinaman should do.

On his return, the Master of the Law was made to reside by the Emperor at a magnificent convent where he was attended by a number of reverent disciples. He here resumed his literary labours to which death alone put an end. Though not full of years, for he was only fifty-nine at the time of his death, he died full of honours in the year 664.

Thus imperfectly have I tried to give an account of the life of a religious student who was actuated by an idea and remained true to it to the end. The tenets of his religion may not commend itself to us. We actually find that the religion of Buddha had come to resemble perilously near the Hindu religion it came to protest against. The worship paid to the idols of the Hindu Trinity and the other gods of the Hindu Pantheon was transferred to the relics of Buddha. To say that Hwen-Thsang could see nothing wrong in this is merely to say that he was not above the influence of his

surroundings. But we can admire the enthusiasm which animated the man, the faith which—if it did not exactly move mountains—at least enabled him to climb them under circumstances of unusual difficulties, the singlemindedness of purpose which made him return to China to give his countrymen the beneficent knowledge he had gained from his travels for all the pressing invitations of the Indian princes to make him stay in India, and above all the absolute faithfulness with which he followed the ideal of life he had formed for himself in early life.

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INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN MODERN INDIA.

PERHAPS the greatest reproach cast against our English educated men of the present day is, that they are not original. In convocation addresses, in public speeches and in the columns of the Native and Anglo-Indian press, we often hear the complaint, that our B. A's and M. A's who are year after year turned out by the Universities in large numbers have not discovered any new machinery for the furtherance of human comforts and have made no original contributions to literature, philosophy and science. Sir Monstuart Grant Duff in his address to the graduates of the Madras University greatly deplored that our graduates do not engage themselves in any original researches. He paid very little compliment to what is called the system of higher education when he remarked in plain language. "You show us your machinery, your University, your schools and much else; you are obviously spending a great deal of money upon what you describe as the 'Higher Education,' but where are your results? If you tell us that you get better government officials and that you have even taught some young men to abuse, in fair English, in the newspapers, we reply, that is all very well if it assists or amuses you, but how does it help *us*, how does it add to the stock of the world's knowledge? We freely grant that your English orientalists and other men of science have done much, but there must be something wrong in the turn you have given to your higher education if you have not created even a desire on the part of South India to learn and to tell more about themselves and the country in which they live." A few years back, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his address to the Graduates of the University of Bombay greatly lamented that our educated men showed no zeal or ardour in the pursuit of knowledge. Sir Lepel Griffin, in the pages of the Asiatic Quarterly speaking on this subject, remarked in his usual pungent style.

"The profound and extensive learning of the man who takes first rank in the scientific and literary world of England, is as far as the Sirius above the culture of the University student of India. His learning is superficial to an extraordinary degree and although

many naturally clever men have passed through the educational mill, I do not remember in the last quarter of a century, a single work written by a native of India on any subject of general, literary political or scientific interest which could fairly take rank with productions of the second or even the third class in England. In poetry, natural science, political economy logic, philosophy, history, fiction, medicine, the intellectual field is barren," and he went on to add that "potential depths of originality may be concealed in the Indian people, but so far they have had no external expression."

It will thus be seen that this complaint of the absence of originality in us is by no means confined to a single Presidency, but is heard throughout India. Now the gist of all these complaints is that at present there is no intellectual life in this country ; that amongst educated Indians, "that constant preference for higher thoughts over lower thoughts," which is characteristic of intellectual life is entirely absent ; that "that virtue which delights in vigorous and beautiful thinking," is almost nowhere to be found ; that the Indian mind is not in that condition in which it once was, in which it seeks earnestly for the highest and purest truth, that very few of our educated men love knowledge for its own sake, that they look upon University honors only in a sordid light, that they value the University titles only for their commercial value, that as a matter of fact our graduates have introduced into the temple of learning the spirit of the market and the Exchange ! ! We are told that of very few of our graduates can it be said.

The purpose of his life—its end and aim
The search of hidden truth, careless of fame,
Of empty dignities, and dirty pelf.
Learning he loved, and sought her for herself.

Now at the outset we feel bound to remark that this complaint of the absence of intellectual life has been to a great extent overdone. To say, for instance, that the Indian intellect is utterly barren and that within the last quarter of a century no single work has been written which could fairly rank with productions of the second or even third class in England is nothing but a piece of exaggeration—perhaps in some cases wilful. For within the last quarter of this century many original works have been written by Indians which have called forth the admiration of many western

thinkers and scholars of repute. We can proudly point to the poems, of the late lamented Toru Dutt. Speaking of this lady Mr. Edmond Gosse remarks. "It is difficult to estimate what we have lost in the premature death of Toru Dutt. Literature has no honours which need have been beyond the grasp of a girl who at the age of 21 and in languages separated from her own by so deep a chasm had produced so much of lasting worth..... When the history of the literature of our country comes to be written, there is sure to be a page in it dedicated to this fragile, exotic blossom of song." Professor DeMorgan the great mathematician refers to the "Maxima and Minima" of the late Professor Ramachendra as "the work of an original genius of a remarkable order." Pandit Divivedi of Benares has completely established his reputation by his "Differential Calculus," speaking of which the Academy remarked: "It is the first step India has made in independent scientific research in modern times; and the author deserves the highest praise for the masterly manner in which he has dealt with his difficult subject."

In the field of fiction, besides many works in the vernacular languages especially in Bengali, we can refer with pride to the 'Saguna' and 'Kamala' two excellent English novels which in vivid representation of human life and in picturesque description of nature can well compare with the writings of Austen and Bronte. In the field of History, one can with legitimate pride point to the 'History of ancient civilization in India' by Mr. Dutt of the Bengal Civil Service. The recent scientific researches of Professor T. C. Bose of the Presidency College of Calcutta evoked the admiration of the scientific world. When Professor Bose read his paper 'on a complete apparatus for the study of the properties of electric waves,' and exhibited his apparatus before the meeting of the British Association, we are told the exhibition of the apparatus and the explanation of the various devices by which the different problems were successively attacked, were greeted with enthusiastic applause. So interesting, we are told, the demonstration proved that Lord Kelvin, left his seat and stood all the time by the lecturer, watching his manipulation of the apparatus, and expressed with enthusiasm his admiration of the novel experiments that could be carried out with its aid. I have referred to the original works of many of these

Indians to show how utterly one-sided, nay often prejudiced are the statements of critics of Indian education who tell us glibly that the Indian intellect is sterile. While demurring to the exaggerated and one sided nature of these criticisms, it must be admitted that the many talented authors we have referred to are mere exceptions. We must confess that at present, there is nothing like a widespread desire amongst our so-called educated men for intellectual pursuits of any kind. It is interesting though melancholy to trace and reflect on the causes which have contributed to this sorry state of affairs.

LONG POLITICAL SERVITUDE.

Any one who is conversant with the political history of this country, of the strange vicissitudes it has undergone, will know how long it has been a prey to the fitful and tyrannical rule of conquerors. Security of life and property has been the chief concern of the people for nearly a thousand years. As says, the late Professor Suley, in his Lectures in the expansion of England: "Subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration." And in no other department of man's activity has political servitude exercised a more deteriorating influence than on the intellectual side. Compare the intellectual activity of India a thousand years ago with that at the present day and you see at once the force of the remark. The essential conditions which further the progress of original thinking and intellectual activity of a high order have been entirely absent in India for a long period extending over two centuries. It has been truly remarked that genial climate, domestic peace, tolerant rule, competent fortune, healthy mind, and freedom from such disturbances, social and political as are destructive of a peaceful life and of the very possibility of scientific thought, are among the most important conditions that largely minister to the storing up of ideas which are the material of original thought. A candid critic must confess that for many centuries past, these conditions have been all most entirely absent. In accounting therefore for the poor intellectual results of the present day, we should take into consideration the fact of our long political servitude.

OUR SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

One is tired of pointing out the pernicious effects of many of our social customs and manners. It will be enough for the purpose

of this paper to make a passing allusion to the position of our women and to the system of early marriages. Any thoughtful man must admit that the future of a race depends a great deal upon the training the children receive at the hands of their mothers and yet who will make bold to say for a moment that our women can lay claim to the slightest pretensions for affording an intellectual training to their children?

The system of early marriages, so largely prevalent especially among the Brahmin population exercises a most disastrous influence on the health and intellect of the students. Many of the Hindu boys in schools and colleges are married at a very early age and so many of them becoming fathers in their student career are called upon to bear the burden of family responsibility. With the troubles and anxieties of the family ever before him, the young student, or perhaps the youthful father—has no inclination and if he has any inclination at all—has neither the time nor the means to devote himself to sustained intellectual effort of any kind. Alas! what originality and devotion to literary pursuits can be expected of young men, who at a time when their minds should be free from cares and anxieties of any kind, at a time when all their intelligence and energy ought to be devoted solely to the acquisition of knowledge their sole aim as are pestered with the cares and anxieties that are naturally the result of a married life?

POVERTY.

The general poverty of many of our English educated young men prevent them a great deal from devoting themselves to scientific and literary pursuits. The Hindu father, especially the Brahmin, is solicitous of giving his son a good education. In his eyes a good education is the education which will enable his son to earn as much as possible and give him a status in society. With this, as his sole aim, he mortgages his few acres of land, pledges, nay often sells his wife's most cherished jewels, and himself and his wife eking out a life denying the ordinary comforts of human life, amidst poverty of the most abject kind, maintains his son at school and college, surmounting all kinds of difficulties. Having spent all his property on the education of the son, the father looks to him, his only hope, for the future support and maintenance of the family. The

consequence is that our student as soon as he takes his degree has necessarily to take upon himself the responsibility of maintaining a large family. He has no other go but to secure a footing and he has to spend himself night and day to earn a decent livelihood. However loudly and emphatically we may declaim against what may be termed the commercial way of looking at education, still it must be admitted that in these days of keen competition and struggle for existence in its acutest form, one has to look to his stomach, above everything else. In the hurly-burly of modern life, with competition so keen in every line, that a man who is not on the alert is apt to lose his chance of making a living altogether, with a striving after wealth as the one desirable object, it is indeed highly difficult for a student of poor means to be devoting himself to intellectual pursuits. And so, it has come to pass that all the time and energy of many of our young graduates, is being spent in a feverish, it may be unwholesome excitement to this money-making business "that he has no time for aught else, no time even to think of matters of the highest importance, to all men," the greatest human interests are to be neglected and our graduates become practically an automaton ever doing only one kind of work.

NO ENCOURAGEMENT TO RESEARCH.

In India we cannot boast of a leisured class who can devote their time solely to intellectual pursuits; nor have the wealthy people of the country founded any scholarships or made any endowments to enable the poor and promising student to devote his whole time to learning and research without being any the least anxious of supporting his family. In the English and Continental Universities the student who has a taste for learning, has provision made for him to devote himself to the pursuit of knowledge. Germany at the present day, is acknowledgedly, the only country in Europe, which is most forward in original researches. It is due to her having provided innumerable professorships, fellowships and studentships. And what encouragement and hope is given to poor students in this country who have a taste for knowledge and who, if placed in life in better circumstances, would perhaps work wonders in the field of science and literature?

 THE PRESENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM CHIEFLY RESPONSIBLE.

We come now to the most important question, how far the University and our educational system is responsible for the present poor intellectual results. It seems to me that they are responsible in no small degree. In blaming our Universities, I am not unmindful of the fact that they have been in existence, only for a period of about forty years and that even in England where the Universities date their origin many centuries ago, the same complaint of the absence of original research is heard. It is not uncommon, even at the present day for Oxford and Cambridge to be called "boarding schools for bigger boys." With this apology for our Indian Universities, we will proceed to our question, how far our Universities fulfil their functions. It will not be out of place to ask, what is a University and what are its real functions. Here one cannot but quote Cardinal Newman.

"A University is the place to which a thousand schools make contributions; in which the intellect may safely range and speculate. It is a place where inquiry is pushed forward, and discoveries are verified and perfected, and rashness rendered innocuous and error exposed, by the collision of mind with mind, and knowledge with knowledge. It is the place where the professor becomes eloquent, and is a missionary and a preacher, displaying his science in its most complete and most winning form, pouring it forth with the zeal of enthusiasm, and lighting up his own love of it in the breast of his hearers. It is the place where the catechist makes good his ground as he goes, treading in the truth day by day into the ready memory and wedging it and tightening it into the expanding reason. It is a place which wins the admiration of the young by its celebrity, kindles the affections of the middle-aged by its beauty, and rivets the fidelity of the old by its associations. It is a seat of wisdom, a light of the world, a minister of the faith, an *alma mater* of the rising generation."

Such is the great Cardinal's idea of what a University ought to aim at. The late Professor Huxley tells us in his usual eloquent and enthusiastic style :—

"In an ideal University a man should be able to obtain instruction in all forms of knowledge, and discipline in the use of all the methods by which knowledge is obtained. In such a University, the force of living example should fire the student with a noble ambition to emulate the learning of learned men, and to follow in the footsteps of the explorers of new fields of knowledge. And the very air he breathes should be charged

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with that enthusiasm for truth, that fanaticism for veracity, which is a greater possession than much learning; a nobler gift than the power of increasing knowledge; by so much greater and nobler than these, as the moral nature of man is greater than the intellectual; for veracity is the heart of morality."

The mournful fact must be confessed that in this country there is not even a lofty conception of the University and its real functions. At present, we look upon the University as primarily an institution for conferring degrees, for placing a sort of trade-mark on educated wares, and to classify and label them according to their qualities so that people may know to what class they belong and Government may be able to find out a convenient commodity for their consumption. Our Indian Universities have become something like huge arsenals, with a perennial supply of graduates with which the Government and the Law Courts carry on their operations. The great function of a University, we are reminded, "is to hand on the torch and keep alive the pure flame of devotion to knowledge for its own sake." In our Indian Universities this object is sorely missing. At present our Universities are identified with the examinations which it holds year after year and these examinations by the way in which they are conducted do nothing more than destroy all the finer elements of education. Examinations instituted by those who teach in order to see whether their teaching is assimilated, will be of immense value. Examinations may be a necessary evil. But the series of examinations instituted by our University, nay the cast-iron machinery of the examination statue is to a great extent useless if not positively obstructive to the promotion of sound knowledge. As Professor Huxley has well remarked "examination, like fire is a good servant, but a bad master" and the danger in our country is that it has become our master. Professors and conscientious Fellows of the Senate in our Universities who belong to the teaching profession cannot for a moment deny that many a student whose career they have watched has become deteriorated by the constant effort to pass this or that examination, just as we hear of men's brains becoming effected by the daily necessity of catching a tram or a train. The students in our schools and colleges work to pass, not to know; "and outraged science takes her revenge. They do pass and they don't know." The examinations, so constantly

held here have had and do have even at the present day a most demoralising influence both on the teacher and the taught. We may well say with Professor Froude, "under our present system teaching becomes cramming; an enormous accumulation of propositions of all sorts and kinds is thrust down the students' throats to be poured out again, I might say vomitted into examiner's laps, and this when it is notorious that the sole condition of making progress in any branch of art or knowledge is to leave on one side everything irrelevant to it and throw your undivided energy on the special thing you have in hand." Such a system leads to cramming of the worst kind. Of late a good deal has been said about cram. But there is cramming and cramming. The majority, I had almost said all our students, who are day by day pestered with examinations resort to cram subjects which they do not understand and about which they do not think at all. Cramming of this kind is nothing but a mechanical operation.

#### DELIBERATE ENCOURAGEMENT TO CRAM.

Almost all the work of our schools and colleges consists in encouraging, I would gladly say without hesitation aiding and abetting, this most demoralising system of cramming. But they are not to be blamed. Our Universities in their wisdom, encourage this kind of cram, a glance at the Literature papers given for the B. A. degree examination year after year will at once confirm this statement. According to the English Curriculum, laid down by the Senate of the Madras University, the student has to answer a literature paper covering all the periods of English Literature. Now, the Senate knows, the Syndicate knows, the Board of English examiners know and the talented gentleman who has the unenviable honor of setting the paper on English literature is fully aware of the fact that in the present state of things, it is utterly impossible for a student going up for the Bachelor of Arts Degree Examination, to have even a superficial idea of the general periods of English literature. Yet what happens?

The student who has no other go but to cram, takes to Brooke's immortal literature primer or if he has a little more time to spare to literature, he takes Shaw or Arnold and mugs it up. When he takes up the question paper in the examination hall he finds he has to answer such questions as,—give a short account of Tennyson's

In Memoriam, Pope's Essay on man, Milton's Paradise Lost, George Eliot's Adam Bede, a tale of Chaucer, a work of Spencer, an obscure drama of the restoration period, and such worthless pieces as Gamnorgerton's Needle and a thousand and other pieces which never in his life he has read. But our student does not and cannot afford to shrink from answering. He takes his answer paper and you find him writing eloquently of the loftiness of Tennyson's poetry, of the moral purpose and grandeur of his poems, and so on. Now the examiner knows that the candidate has not studied Tennyson's In Memoriam. He knows that it is all wind and yet he gives him marks, makes him pass. The candidate who heads the list and who gets the Literature medal is no exception to this. I make bold to ask whether a more ridiculous state of things can be imagined? I ask is it possible to conceive of a more deliberate encouragement to cram? May I ask how many of our Professors have not suffered, in moral tone and enthusiasm, for "being compelled to be such hucksters of intellectual wares." What originality can be expected of students who spend their whole time in cramming all sorts of names and dates, who have no depth of knowledge, and who are being mercilessly ground down by the examination mill? Suffice it to say that the way in which examinations are at present being conducted have contributed not a little to the destruction of original thinking.

#### THE DEMORALISING INFLUENCE ON THE TEACHER.

The position of the Teacher in India is exceedingly pitiable. By force of circumstances he has to adopt a method of teaching which he knows does not promote culture, does not stimulate thought, on the other hand creates a positive distaste for real knowledge. But still like a dull lifeless machine he has to follow the routine of the day. Everything that he has to teach his pupils is laid down in educational codes and University syllabuses. If he sometimes begins to teach a subject in a new mode calculated to widen the mental horizon of the students he very often finds that his students display no enthusiasm, nay often grumble, because it does not *pay* them in their examinations. This has been and still is the sad experience of professors and students. Not long ago in addressing the members of a Government College Literary Society, a Professor, holding a high office in the educational department, and holding an

honorable distinction in the local University, confessed, that to a great extent he had to encourage cram and that if he did not he will be called upon to account by the Director for the shabby results in the subjects he taught. What exaggeration therefore can there be when I say that the teacher in India at the present day is by force of circumstances compelled to be a huckster of intellectual wares, instead of enjoying the honorable function of being "a missionary and a preacher, displaying his science in his most complete and most winning form, pouring it forth with the zeal of enthusiasm and lighting up his own love of it in the breast of his hearers." The late Mr. W. A. Porter, the most honoured distinguished educationist of Southern India, in his Convocation address, in accounting for the mental indolence of Indian students very truly remarks :—

"We act as if his brain were an empty hull into which each professor in his turn was to tumble a science. By this system of overteaching, we deprive our students of the pleasures of search and leave them none of the spontaniety in the pursuit of their studies which springs from being left to themselves," and he ridiculed the present system of teaching by saying. "A certain Greek writer tells us of some man who to save his bees a troublesome flight to Hymettus cut their wings and placed before them the finest flowers he could select. The poor bees made no honey." "I think," said he, "that by our system we imitate this foolish man. We cut the wings of our students and give them the flowers they should find for themselves."

Mr. Porter might well have added, that in India at the present day, the lot of the school master is cast, to use the words of the poet,

Among a people of children,  
Who thronged me in their cities,  
And asked not wisdom,  
But charms to charm with,  
But spells to mutter.

The neglect of the education of the senses is another serious defect in the present educational system. The saying of Lord Bacon that physics is the mother of sciences, has not yet had a meaning in our education. "The education of the senses is neglected, all

after-education partakes of a drowsiness, a haziness, an insufficiency, which it is impossible to cure."

It is an accepted principle that education should begin from the concrete to the abstract, yet in how many of our schools, I had almost said colleges, this principle is not followed. Even at the present day, in many of our educational institutions, sciences like, Chemistry, Physics and Physiology, which are not possible to be grasped without experiments, are being taught in a parrot-like fashion like history and grammar. Under this wretched system of teaching, truly, the acquisition of knowledge instead of being made pleasurable is made nauseously painful.

#### NEGLECT OF SCIENCE.

This brings us again to another serious defect in our educational system. In his book on Education, Mr. Spencer after an interesting and lengthy treatment of the subject has conclusively shown that the knowledge which is of most worth is scientific knowledge. For, it is science alone, of all other branches of knowledge, that insists on precision, that sets the mind thinking, that gives us a store of ideas.

The neglect of science is a serious defect and educationists and politicians should look to it soon. At the present moment in England the neglect of scientific education is severely commented upon by competent authorities. Only a few weeks back, the London Times pointed out that in Germany, the advancement of scientific knowledge has considerably increased her material wealth and that in England, the absence of proper scientific teaching is telling upon her commerce greatly.

#### CONCLUSION.

It is time now to bring this paper to a close. It has been pointed out that at present there is nothing like a wide-spread intellectual life in India, that there have been and there are even now several forces at work which hinder the growth of a healthy intellectual life. It may well be to ask what about the future? Is the out-look gloomy? There is no reason to be pessimistic. The success of Chatterji at the Civil Service Examination, the remarkable exploits of Prince Ranjit Singh in the cricket field, the scientific researches of Professor Bose, who is now on the threshold of

a great European fame, all these indicate that, in the physical and intellectual field we are by no means inferior to the westerns and this coupled with the intellectual greatness of this historic land, ought to inspire us with hope and courage. We are as the poet says,

“The sons of ancient fame,  
Those starry lights of virtue, that diffuse  
Through the dark depths of time, their vivid flame.”  
Let us therefore,  
Take up, the task eternal, and the burden and the lessson.

PIONEERS: O PIONEERS:

Let us hope that the “coming centuries will see its lesson learnt, its task being accomplished, and the intellectual brilliancy of its long vanished youth renewed.”

G. A. NATESAN.

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## MARRIAGE LEGISLATION IN TRAVANCORE.

IT has always been an extremely delicate task for the British Government to interfere with the Hindu Social laws and it has been with much hesitation and great reluctance that they interfered with certain practices which prevailed amongst the Hindus and were supposed to have the sanction of their religion, when they happened to be repugnant to the notions which were generally entertained by the Western Nations. During the time of the East India Company non-interference with such practices was an article of faith but when some of them appeared to be opposed to the clear rights of humanity they were compelled to interfere. Infanticide was by some supposed to have a religious sanction. But its abolition was not resented very much on account of its extreme repugnance, to all sentiments of morality. Similarly capital punishment of Brahmins was unknown to Hindu law and such punishment was undoubtedly an attack upon the Hindu religion and was in variance with the general feelings of the Hindus but the English Criminal law in India refused to make any distinction between Brahmins and other classes of people. The course of the British Government in these respects was clear and their action was not opposed by the Hindus, in a form so as to cause much uneasiness ; it was not sufficient to incite the people to any general revolt, and constitutional agitation was in those days unknown, but it became different when the English interfered and abolished Sati or the burning of the widows. If any case called for interference such was the case of Sati. It was only possible in a society where females were degraded and female life was of no value. It was a senseless and brutal sacrifice and very often involuntary. The woman was often forced to the funeral pile. All precautions taken by previous Governments had proved ineffectual. And yet when Lord William Bentick attempted to put a stop to the hedious practice the usual cry that their religion was in danger was raised by the orthodox Hindus, though it is true that a few eminent leaders of native opinion like Rama Mohun Roy and Dwarakanath Tagore were found to support the Government. But matters had advanced to such a

stage that the opponents were enabled to carry their agitation to England, and they brought the matter before the Privy Council. The Privy Council naturally declined to interfere as the Viceroy had acted strictly within his rights, and opposition to the movement was fruitless. More difficult was the case of widow re-marriage. Here the case for interference was not so plain as in those referred to and the outcry naturally was greater and the opposition more skilful and determined than in the earlier days; the question was brought before the notice of Parliament but fortunately without any success. In all the cases that we have referred to, the injustice was apparent. But now we begin to deal with another class of cases which is far more difficult and required far more careful handling. All the previous instances had reference to the liberty of the subject. But in the instances that we propose to refer to, the interference was with reference to laws relating to marriage and family life. The statesmanlike attempt of Sir John Lawrence and Sir Henry Mayne in 1870 to introduce a marriage law on non-religious lines was bitterly opposed by the orthodox section of the Hindu community and we have now in the statute book what is called the Brama Samaj marriage act which only applies to those who do not belong to any of the recognised religions that prevail in India. The Bill that was originally framed would have enabled any two persons to have contracted marriage without regard to their religion, and it would have been a great help to the cause of Social progress. The declaration that is required by the present act by persons who wish to marry under it that they are not Hindus greatly impedes its general acceptance.

The next step in Social Reform is the age of consent act and it is too recent to need any detailed reference at our hands. It is only necessary to note that the opposition of the orthodox Hindus had in the meantime increased in volume and in weight, and though fortunately there was a party amongst the Hindus themselves who were strongly advocating that reform and thus enabled the Government to maintain that Hindu opinion in itself was not unanimous and that the array of great names in support of the Government was sufficient to justify its attitude, yet it was plain that it was only the determined attitude which was taken up by the English Government that enabled it to carry the measure through the Legislative

Council. By investing the Courts of Justice with power to administer Hindu laws to the Hindus, the Government are practically compelling obedience to the old Shastras even though there may be a large section of people who are willing to renounce their adherence to it. The only available course therefore is legislation which will have the effect of either practically repealing those parts of the Hindu law which are repugnant to social reform or by enacting fresh laws which would free social reformers from those penalties which are enjoined by our Hindu law. But the Legislative Councils till very recently were more or less composed of members nominated by Government and those who were desirous of effecting any reform were always under the disadvantage of being taunted with calling in the help of the strangers to interfere with their social customs; and the Government was under the disadvantage of appearing to interfere in matters with which they were not particularly competent to deal. When we have Legislative Councils more largely composed of elected members they will then be in a far better position to deal with questions of this complicated nature. Success at the polls or re-election may apparently be regarded as a test of popular approval of any measure of social reform of which the candidate may be an acknowledged advocate and his failure would be an indication to Government that such measure has not received the support of a majority of the electors. The support which the candidate receives in the election will be a measure of the support which that particular measure of social reform is accorded to by the public. The course of Government will then be comparatively smooth; when public opinion has been sufficiently educated by the social reformers, it will be a comparatively easy matter for the Legislative Councils to interfere. At present there is no such means of education. People generally do not interest themselves in discussions which are more or less of a merely academical nature, but when such discussions usually effect a measure which is pending discussion in the Legislative Council and which if passed will affect their Social family life, far greater interest is naturally taken and the matter is pretty well discussed. Apathy gives way to a pretty keen interest and a really beneficial measure is likely to have in course of time that support which it really deserves. But till that day comes when practically the

Government will have to comply with the wishes of the National Congress, when the Legislative Councils will have a sufficiently large number of non-official members, representing public opinion, we have to work with the Councils now in existence though under the disadvantages which we have pointed out. While the Legislative Councils are such that it is not easy for Social reformers to get a measure through the Councils, there is at least a safeguard that no measure which has not been approved by the English Government and which is opposed to British feelings of humanity is likely to become law. English officials of whom there are generally a large number in the Council are not likely to give their assent to a measure which is opposed to their own ideas of justice. The case becomes different however in the case of Legislative Councils where such western influence does not exercise a prevailing influence. In some of the Native States for instance, Legislative Councils have been recently introduced with power to frame laws for the state without those safeguards which exist in the case of such Councils in British India. And they are powerful for good or evil, in matters of Social Reform. With these remarks we proceed to the consideration of a bill which is now pending before the Legislative Council of the Native State of Travancore.

The ruling family of that state as well as a great portion of its inhabitants is governed by a peculiar usage affecting succession and inheritance. According to it marriage is not a legal institution. Kinship is recognised only in the female line and property descends in the same line and not to wives and children whose existence as such is, in fact, not recognised by law. A large community governed by the same laws occupies a district in the Madras Presidency for which laws are framed by the Legislative Councils of British India; and we propose briefly to contrast and compare a bill now before the Travancore Council with the act passed by the Madras Council. It must be remembered that this peculiar custom recognised polygamy and polyandry, did not regard marriage as a legal institution, and did not recognise any rights in the wife and children. Family life as understood in the west was not recognised at all for a long time. Various English administrators who had to deal with these communities had felt the necessity of introducing certain Social Reforms. But as a matter involving family life it had not been

interfered with. In 1882 the question was brought into prominence by a special commissioner who advocated a reform in such laws. The Government of Madras declined to interfere, as such demands did not proceed from the community itself. A few years afterwards in 1884, a commission with such a statesman as Sir T. Madhava Rao as chairman again advocated a change in such laws, that recommendation having the support of two of the members of that Commission who belonged to such community. The Government again felt themselves unable to interfere ; eventually however when a member of that community who was also a member of the Legislative Council introduced a measure into the Council, the Government felt itself bound to consider the question and appointed a commission of which such a conservative Brahmin as Sir T. Muthusawmi Iyer was President to report on the whole question. The report of the commission at once disclosed the conflict of opinion that existed with reference to the reforms proposed ; though there was a general feeling that some change was necessary, great difficulty existed with reference to the lines on which such changes were to be undertaken. We shall now explain how the difficulties then raised were solved by the Madras Government and compare it with the attitude now adopted by the Travancore Legislative Council.

In interfering with the customs which regulated the sexual union of the members of a community it was necessary that there should be as little interference as possible with those who wished to adhere to the existing custom. The main feature therefore of the law as adopted by the Madras Government was, that it was permissive. It enabled those members of the community who wish to contract a marriage which would be recognised by law, to do the same. They had only to register their customary marriage before a Public Officer. Then the law recognized it as a valid marriage. Those who wish to remain under the old system were not interfered with. They were allowed to enter into matrimonial unions as before and such sexual unions will continue to be held in society with the same respect after this law as before. No legal consequences were attached to the customary union if the parties did not wish it and no obligations were attached to that union unless the parties desired the same. The result therefore was that the law

did not interfere with anybody who did not wish to avail himself of its provisions.

According to the custom of the community sexual unions were prohibited between persons who were in any way related to one another in the female line,—that is who were descended from the same female ancestress. There was of course nothing in reason to recommend it and the promoters of the law felt themselves unable to legalise such a custom as being vexatious. The sentiments of the community on the other hand insisted upon a due recognition of their customary prohibition, and the views of both the parties found expression in the report which was submitted to the Madras Government by the commission above referred to.

A far greater difficulty was, the question of caste and inter-marriage between the various sub-divisions of the same caste. It was objected on the one hand that the caste and other customary restrictions on marriage ought to be recognised, that caste is a religious institution and therefore any interference with the same is inadvisable. Now according to such custom no male or female may marry below and outside his or her own caste, and no female may marry into certain sub-divisions of her caste. Generally it was insisted that such customs must be recognised. But those who originated the movement contended that by recognising such caste and other social restrictions we would simply fossilize them and bar any social progress. Such were the divergent views generally entertained by the various sections of the community themselves and if the community had been left to solve the problem for itself, the chances are that probably that nothing would have been done; but the Madras Government suggested a solution which was accepted as a fair compromise by both the parties. The government recognised the force of the objection that caste and other restrictions must be recognised, they felt that it would be unfair to the other members of the joint families of which the bride and bridegroom are members to allow such persons to contract a marriage opposed to the whole views of the members of the Family as the issue of such marriage would be entitled to succeed to their property. But the government also felt on the other hand that it would be most inadvisable to give vitality to such customs by according to them the sanction of law, and therefore they suggested that it should be open to the

members of these Families who are interested in the marriage to object to the registration of such marriage which alone would give it validity in the eye of law on the ground that it is opposed to their caste; but they also declared that if such objection is not raised, by individuals so interested, before such registration, then the validity of such marriage cannot afterwards be impeached on the ground that it is opposed to any caste restriction. While therefore no marriage which has been actually performed can at any time be objected to, on the ground that it is opposed to the caste rules of either of the parties, a right is recognised in a member of the family to which either of the individuals belong to prevent the registration of such marriage on such ground. An opportunity is thus given to discarding all caste restrictions if the parties and their relatives are willing to discard them, and eventually for a gradual extinction of all such restrictions. For the first time perhaps in Indian Legislation the Government has declared by this act that a marriage performed against the rules of caste is not on that ground invalid. While therefore those who are anxious to uphold caste rules cannot complain against the law with any reason, since, in order to prevent any caste violation, the members of the family if they felt aggrieved have only to take proper steps in proper time, those who were anxious for social reform have no reason to be dissatisfied either as they have no right to insist on liberty being given to a person to marry against the rules of the caste of the family to which he belongs and in the property of which he is interested when the members of his own family so strenuously object to the consummation of such a marriage. He must sever his connection with his family or he must conform to their wishes. The result is that if the family raises no objection the law does not recognise the caste as an impediment to marriage and for the first time perhaps in Indian Legislation as we have already pointed out we have an act which allows the Hindus to marry against the rules of their caste.

The difficulty about the relationship has been similarly got over. The Government felt that it is obviously impossible wholly to ignore the orthodox opposition that no marriages are to take place which the society regards as incestuous, while they also felt that it would be unreasonable to give validity to all those restrictions. They therefore suggested the compromise which also was

accepted, by which a power of interdiction was recognised in the members of the family and power was given to them to prevent such marriages which were opposed to their caste rules, but in case any such marriage is registered, such marriage is to remain valid though they may be opposed to any custom. It would be invalid only if the parties are related within certain degrees which are recognised in what is usually known as Bramho Samaj Marriage act as being a bar to marriages.

Now it is remarkable in the case of the bill pending before the Legislative Council of Travancore all the rigorous provisions of the Malabar Marriage Act have been reproduced into them without any of those safe-guards which have been suggested by the Government of Madras.

Instead of being a permissive law it is a compulsory measure. As we have already pointed out the Malabar Marriage Act does not interfere with the sexual alliance of the parties who do not desire to be interfered with, who may contract their sexual alliances as usual and the law has nothing whatever to do with them. No rights and liabilities are attached to such union and the Penal Code of the country does not recognise that union. Whereas in the Marriage bill of Travancore it is enacted that the customary alliance which hitherto has not entailed obligations or conferred rights shall be deemed a good and valid marriage. The result therefore is that all sexual alliances contracted in future after the passing of the act will be brought within the operations and the provisions of the bill, and anybody who goes through the customary form of marriage will find himself subject to the liabilities under the bill though he may not wish to bring himself under the provisions thereof.

Under the custom of the country free divorce is permitted ; a man and a woman may separate when either of them desires it, but under the Travancore bill, after the divorce a man becomes liable to maintain his divorced wife. Under the customary law the wife and children are entitled to be maintained only by the family to which they belong ; under the new law they became entitled to be maintained by the husband. While according to custom divorce is free; under the Travancore bill such divorces are to be regulated by a Judicial officer. To all these provisions a man has to render

himself subject though he may have been simply following the old custom.

While *the Malabar marriage bill is permissive* the new Travancore-marriage bill is compulsory and it is a violent interference with the marriage customs and habits which have been followed by people for over 2000 years and which have been regarded to have the sanction of religion against their will.

Similarly in the case of caste and customary restrictions the Travancore Marriage Bill declares that these sexual alliances can take place only in accordance with the caste and other customary rules. Our readers are scarcely aware perhaps of the great subdivisions that prevail among the community. There are not less than 200 sub-divisions; and this bill will have the effect of fossilizing all these restrictions and preventing inter-marriages between all these various sub-divisions till this law is repealed. At present the people are gradually beginning to discard these restrictions and it is possible that in the absence of any marriage law and while no rights and duties attached to any of the sexual unions, that inter-marriages may freely take place between the various sub-divisions and all these vexacious restrictions may be abolished. We already see indications of great progress in this direction and we have not the slightest doubt that this bill will seriously interfere with the progress of such social reform. It will recognise caste and sub-caste restriction as legal and binding, will place tremendous power in the hands of priests and others who will have to decide the caste and sub-caste questions, and will prove most pernicious to social progress, without those safeguards which have been adopted in the Malabar Marriage Act. We would rather see this bill dropped rather than it should be passed into law with provisions so abnoxious to progress.

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## COMMERCIAL MORALITY IN MADRAS.

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A writer in the November number of the Nineteenth Century has drawn attention to the low state of morality prevalent among the native merchants of Japan and the difficulties which respectable English merchant houses are subject to in overcoming their tactics. He also points out that the country cannot rise high in trade and that its competition with England can never become serious so long as no improvement is made in this respect. On considering further whether there is an early chance of a better state of things he concludes there is none. This is a very serious charge indeed and one which should be carefully sifted as, if true, we are likely to be as banefully affected as distant England and perhaps more so since our commercial machine is but one of recent erection and has not gone much beyond the experimental stage. Japan has already invited India to an intimate commercial union and we have no doubt that the men in whose hands this union has to grow would foster it with all the care that it needs.

But in regard to the charge itself we shall dismiss it with a short remark. Seeing that the Japanese have but just shaken off the benumbing influence of a stagnant and self-sufficient civilization we are fain to credit them with the will and power to rectify

these evils at the earliest opportunity. At all events we are unwilling to accept on the *ipse dixit* of an article writer, that a nation which, by an energy as unique as it is laudable, has risen from oblivion and exhibited the strength of its revival in every channel of human advancement, would allow this imputation on its common sense to stand unchallenged. We should not also forget that the writer is not a Jap but an Englishman whose countrymen suffer most from this new competition. This explosion of bile would not be surprising even when by mere stress of competition they had been driven out of countries which they had hitherto looked upon as their preserves ; but when it is borne in mind that the Japanese Government are fostering new industries by liberal bounties, the wonder is that worse charges have not been thought of to ruin this presumptuous race in the eyes of the world. We should suppose that their displacement by an upstart nation has more to do with the complaint than any real grievance. It is not everywhere that they could succeed in coercing local governments to levy 'counter-veiling' excise duties to make up for the advantages of indigenous raw material and cheap labour. But be this as it may we propose to briefly review the state of matters here and to find out how far these moral censors have carried out those principles in which the poor Japs have been found wanting. It will be observed that the writer referred to has carefully avoided mention of the relations of those native merchants among themselves. We presume that he took it for granted that unfairness if it existed would only appear in their dealings with foreigners 'with whom they would be quite at arms' length and beyond the influence of public opinion and social restrictions. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the aspects which transactions between English and native merchants present to us without going to trace how these classes deal with each other among themselves.

We shall not be far wrong in stating that the gigantic commercial enterprises which have dazzled the world in our days have been made possible by the English banking system, based as it is on mutual credit and the immense resources it has in the savings of thrifty citizens who have not the time or inclination to lay out their money for profit but who for a moderate return are willing that the banker should use it at his risk. These sums however small indi-

vidually aggregate to a respectable figure in the bankers' hands with the additional advantage to the investors of being able to withdraw any portion when they require it. The chances of a simultaneous recall of all the investments are very few indeed and not worth taking into account in practice except on occasions of panic which, with reasonable diligence, can always be guarded against. Our native bankers know well enough how to use their own money to the best advantage ; but they have no idea whatever of this ingenious device by which their transactions might be extended indefinitely. Their biggest operations appear childish beside those of their European rivals when they have solely to depend on their own resources. The trade on other people's money is a science unknown to them into whose mysteries they are not likely to be easily initiated. We are all aware of how jealously Europeans guard the secrets of their trade and avoid giving an opportunity to natives lest by chance they should learn them. Every position and appointment which might enable them directly or indirectly to get acquainted with their methods of business is studiously filled up by their countrymen. In this respect we are afraid there is not a single bank or merchant house to which we can point as being superior to this petty jealousy. There is no question of trust or capacity in this matter. More onerous and delicate work may be entrusted to natives so long as it is only such as would not let them into their system. Perhaps Englishmen here are painfully conscious of the principle which for fifty years they have preached and acted on, that the fittest will survive or do the authors of the free trade reform see the errors of their ways and work out the result by other means? We shall presently see into what anomalies, prejudice and self-interest lead them.

When a merchant has to pay for goods purchased of a distant seller he goes to a banker and arranges with him for an advance on their security. Whether the banker pays in this way on behalf of the buyer or whether he does so at the instance of the seller to be recouped from collections from buyers he retains a lien on the goods for the amount. He also obtains from the parties a percentage in cash for further security so as to leave a margin against loss in the event of his having to sell the goods on default of repayment. It is evident that the banker may by skilfully adjusting this percentage

and the interest payable on the loan not only protect himself completely but may also use it to help or hamper his clients. It is in his power to insist on prompt settlement of accounts or grant time and other facilities. We shall proceed to mention how advantage is taken of this power, to handicap if not cripple the native merchants in their struggle against their European competitors.

No matter what its standing and credit be, when a native firm applies for a loan the margin required is always very heavy. From our explanation above it is easy to see that the sum paid in as margin is from the merchant's point of view so much dead money locked up in his banker's hands and yielding no return. He would therefore, so far as he could, try to reduce this and the more credit he obtains the better he should succeed in it. In a country of dear money like India where the interest runs very high every merchant knows to his cost what hardship this distinction entails. Now the question may arise whether this high margin is really necessary for the banker's security in the case of native merchants. There are only two cases in which it would be so, all native merchants being either false, unreliable men or speculators without credit. To condemn wholesale in this manner is a little too much and we have to look to any other explanation for the uniform treatment. For the same amount of capital a merchant could do twice as much business as he could otherwise do, if the amount of margin, payable as indicated above, be reduced by half, and the profits realized will also proportionately increase. If a native merchant were required to pay a heavier deposit than an English merchant of like strength and standing the latter gains an advantage which will not be lost sight of in this age of calculation.

That this difference is not required for the legitimate purposes of commerce is also clear from another fact. We have in this country two kinds of banks namely 'local' and 'exchange' the former of which engages itself primarily in local banking business and the latter in discounting bills of exchange. But neither entirely excludes the other kind of business. The former is in the hands of Englishmen who are almost settlers in the country and have local interest and prejudices but the latter are merely branches of English banking houses managed by agents sent out from time to time by directors in England. These should not have any interests

here and are only bound to take care of their masters' interests as bankers and to carry out their orders strictly and faithfully. We may naturally expect that such persons would not have the same temptation to handicap native merchants that local men with personal interests may have. Except so far as general sympathy for their countrymen may carry them away we may expect that they would be more lenient in their dealings with natives. They look at the thing almost solely from a banker's point of view and if in the result they see their way to be satisfied with a lesser margin we may safely presume that they did not do so in ignorance of their interests but that because all reasonable conditions were satisfied.

Now taking up the question of the interest on the loans, we find the same distinction maintained between European and native. One would imagine that the heavy margin which handicaps native merchants so injuriously having placed the loan practically beyond risk, bankers would be satisfied with a fair interest regulated by the legitimate demand for money. But apparently when a good opportunity offers itself of squeezing out the poor Indian still further, it were folly to lose it. 'High interest and native security', seems the creed of our bankers.

In these matters even banks which are under the indirect superintendence of Government are not better. When the interests of European houses are concerned it is a matter of common knowledge of how anxious these banks are to accommodate them. Every facility that could possibly be afforded is at their service. If government in the consciousness of the risk it ran in investing the tax payer's money with these banks requires that no over-drafts might be allowed or loans advanced except on substantial security it does not limit in any way the discounting of hundies and bills of exchange. Are not promissary notes executed by respectable firms 'substantial security' on the strength of which to advance loans? But we shall not here pursue this subject further.

We have so far mentioned how Anglo-Indian feeling towards natives has shown itself. We shall next see how far they have prevailed on their brethren at home to acquiesce or take part in such treatment. We have several rival steamer companies regularly plying between India and the different parts of the globe. They compete very closely with each other and have nothing in common

except perhaps their nationality. But in so far as Indian trade is concerned they have formed a combination and agreed on certain rules to be observed by all. One of these rules perpetuates a race distinction which we will here refer to. When goods are shipped the freight on them is either prepaid or left to be paid by the consignees on delivery. In either case an abatement is made on it for the benefit of the shipper which is known as freights return commission. This is a substantial sum amounting to about 10 to 15 per cent and is of great service when the freight is not payable by himself because the full amount would be recovered from the persons liable to pay the same while this little business between the exporter and the steamer company is merely a private solatium. In any case freight is reduced by that amount. Now by the rule we referred to, no native shipper is entitled to this commission. This is solely a premium in favour of European shippers and does not depend in any way on the amount of business done with the shipper. Naturally there are not wanting Europeans who make a living out of it and are content to be the retainers of these big native firms to lend their name as shippers and draw this commission. This system of confining the return commission to European shippers has a serious effect on export 'consignment' business.

All the firms trading here have agents in Europe to whom goods are consigned through the former by native merchants for sale on their account. The firms charge a commission of 1 to 2 per cent on the value of the goods for their trouble in the matter and the consignor takes the risks of the market and bears all the expenses. This is a safe and favoured business of the firm where it undertakes no responsibility whatever and works purely as an agent. But this does not however deter them from pocketing the amount of the freight returned by the steamer company. The full amount is charged to the consignor and no concession is made to him. The well known legal and moral principle that the agent should not derive any advantage out of the agency behind the back of the principal is quietly shelved, but we are now merely concerned with the matter as affecting competition in favour of European firms and it is evident that this gives them an advantage over their native competitors who cannot count on any such adventitious income nearly equalling that earned as lawful commission.

So far as to the general distinction made as between European and native firms. We shall now see the treatment the latter have in their business relations with the former. When a merchant wants to indent for goods at the English firms he is called upon to sign what is called a 'firm' offer in their books which when accepted forms the contract. The effect of this offer is that the former undertakes to purchase of the latter goods of specified pattern and description to be shipped as agreed upon. The other necessary terms are embodied in it and the firm acts as principal making itself responsible for the contract without bringing in its suppliers at any stage. The firm after making the necessary deductions for its profit and charges tries with its suppliers to effect a second contract in its turn. If it succeeds it would directly accept the offer of the merchant or if any modification in the terms is requisite it negotiates for it. The offer of the merchant is a mere proposal but without liberty to withdraw from it for a fixed period to give time for communication. The sale intended is of unfinished goods which the foreign agent is expected to get ready and supply.

Often however in the hope of future offers, firms order the goods on their own account and find them on their hands if the anticipated demand fails but all the same when indents are received for them the old farce of communication with agents is kept up as much to keep the indenter in ignorance of the previous purchase as to lead him to believe that the goods would arrive in the usual course fresh at manufacturers' hands.

There is no limit fixed within which the firm engages itself to fulfil the contract but if the goods are not shipped within six months of the date of acceptance the indenter may cancel the order without any claim for damages. This is a very elastic and dangerous provision inserted with more than the ingenuity of lawyers. For all practical purposes it makes the contract one-sided. We have explained how a proposal once made by signing the indent may not be withdrawn till a certain period has elapsed and if prices go down in the meanwhile the indenter has no means of going back. If the acceptance is received in time the merchant would be bound no matter how conditions had altered against him. But how does the firm stand? Until the conclusion of the contract they may have the terms altered to their wish but let us suppose prices

to go up after it is complete. They are bound to supply the goods but without any stipulation as to time. They do not undertake to supply at the earliest opportunity or in the shortest possible time. There is an outside limit of six months within which if the goods are shipped they could compel the indenter to take up but if they do not do so within the period the only remedy against them is to *cancel the contract without claim* for damages. One has only to hold off sufficiently long and prices might go down or the buyer throw it up in anticipation of an unfavourable fluctuation.

We shall give but one more illustration of this kind of morality and we shall have done. Instead of making themselves liable to the indenter and taking the risk of the contract local firms sometimes vary this by merely acting as agents to conclude the bargain between the suppliers and buyers. In such cases the return commission paid by the former for obtaining orders is quite enough for them and they act also as agents to collect their drafts. Although at first sight it appears that the firm has nothing further to do with the contract and any disputes that may arise have to be settled direct between the contracting parties, this business would generally be impossible except where the parties have great trust in each other. The drafts might arrive at any moment and being payable very soon after sight would cause great inconvenience and work mischief unless the drawers could rely on somebody to finance them at once. In fact these are mainly induced by the firm undertaking to finance, which they could easily do when the drafts arrive through them. In a case of this kind which came before the courts recently, the supplying firm in England changed its agents here after the booking of the contract and the new agents presented the draft for acceptance repudiating their liability to finance as usual. Representations of the undertaking and of how the buyers were prejudicially affected by the change were made to the drawers but they refused to consider them and insisted on their rights. They said they had entire liberty to change their agents when they liked and any arrangements of the kind referred to could not bind them. However the courts took a more reasonable view of the matter and refused to allow them to deprive the other party, by a change of agents, of advantages on which they counted at the time of entering into the contract. This case is also important as showing how easily the

public could be misled by holding it out as an instance of Indian perverseness in the same way as that in Japan has been held out. The time has yet to come "when the merchant who overtrades, the bank director who countenances an exaggerated report and the railway director who repudiates his guarantee come to be regarded as of the same genus as the pick pocket." The art of gaining bargains is the same in Japan or elsewhere and merchants we fear will not be easily persuaded that religion and morality have much to do with them. When an old firm of standing and credit does not scruple to win away the foreign agent of a neighbouring native firm because he happened to be good and worth having, this would only be another sin competition has to answer for. If in the search for a substitute which for obvious reasons must be a serious matter all his business is unhinged it would perhaps be the triumph of competition.

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## KALIDASA.

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THE estimate which the countries in the West have formed of the merits of Kalidasa as a poet and dramatist is mainly based upon a study of his works as translated by oriental scholars into the English language and it is hardly necessary to say that the Shakespeare of India must have considerably suffered in their estimation under the circumstances. Sir Monier Williams one of the best translators of *Sakuntala* makes the following observations in his introduction to that work. "Translation of Poetry must, at the best, resemble the process of pouring a highly volatile and evanescent spirit from one receptacle into another. The original fluid will always suffer a certain amount of evaporation and waste." These observations, it will be apparent to every thoughtful reader, are indisputable so far as they go, but they do not go far enough. The view is clearly optimistic and does not disclose the full extent of the waste undergone by the spirit in the process. The waste referred to in these observations as a necessary consequence of the process will be all the waste only on the hypothesis that language is a mere receptacle of thought. But the fallacy of this position has been sufficiently exposed by eminent writers on the subject of language and its functions. The language even in prose literature—literature of information—is not a vesture which can be doffed at pleasure without prejudice to the quantum of thought which it either expresses or conceals. We often come across passages in prose literature which refuse to be paraphrased in other words of the same language, much more to be translated into the vocabulary of a different one. Much greater evidently must be the tenacity of a poetical thought. The language of poetry which is essentially a literature of power cannot be the cloak or the apparel of the thought. The thought and the language in poetry act and react each upon the other and undergo a process more analogous to a chemical combination than to a mechanical mixture till the word ceases to be the mere receptacle of the thought, till the word becomes, as it were, the incarnation of the thought. If the function of the language of poetry were merely to denote the corresponding object or express

the sentiment it were then possible to translate poetry of one language into another language without any appreciable evaporation of the poetical thought or sentiment. But the main function of poetry is not to give us any information or to teach us anything that we did not know before but to move. It appeals not to the understanding but to the emotions and suggests or at any rate ought to suggest more than it expresses. The language of poetry is thus considered beautiful, not on account of what it denotes, but on account of what it suggests. Between a true poetical conception and the corresponding true poetical word there subsists a peculiar chemical affinity—a nobler one than that spoken of in modern science—which so unites them together that a subsequent analysis of the chemical product into its constituent elements is impossible. This assertion may probably appear too bold or extravagant to make and we therefore hasten to substantiate it by an illustration or two. In a verse of Raghuvamsa Kalidasa uses the word *Samrambha*. The Sanskrit lexicon does not contain another word which can be substituted in its place without serious injury to the sense. This word or that may be suggested by a commentator or a pundit but it will be evident that any word so suggested is selected not on the ground of its absolute fitness to act as a poetical substitute but on the ground of its being the best available in the language, as making the nearest approach to the word for which it is made to do duty. It is hardly necessary to add that the English vocabulary does not contain a word which can take the place of this word *Samrambha* in the verse which contains it. The word which approaches nearest to it is 'rage.' It must be conceded that this word will do infinitely better than the more prosaic word 'anger.' But considering how we often speak of 'the rage of grief' we can scarcely think of translating the word *Samrambha*, especially with reference to the context, into its feeble and misleading English equivalent 'rage.' Another illustration is afforded by the word 'blushing.' It is altogether needless to observe that the idea denoted or suggested by this word is or at any rate was unknown to the Indian and the Sanskrit vocabulary in consequence contains no word which can take the place of 'blushing' so as to give the Indian reader unacquainted with the English language any idea of what the word denotes or suggests. The idea is altogether foreign to Sanskrit literature and

any attempt to translate *blushing* into the Sanskrit tongue must necessarily fail.

In making these observations we have for the sake of clearness assumed the competency of the translator to do the work he has undertaken. Even for purposes of translating prose literature of one language into that of another it will be conceded that the translator should possess a sufficient command of both languages if the work of translation is to be satisfactorily done. A greater command of both the languages among other qualifications is *a fortiori* needed for translating poetry of one language into poetry of another if the force or beauty of the original is to be preserved without any apparent diminution in quantity or deterioration in quality. But by an irony of fate the work of translating, as the combined experience of readers and critics shews is generally undertaken by gentlemen who are not ripe scholars in both the languages. Their qualification for the self-imposed task is *not* that they are ripe scholars in both or even either of the languages but that they know something of both and are thus better fitted by mere possibility than those who are well-versed in one only of them without any pretensions even to a smattering in the other. It is such people that often act as middlemen between persons who know only one of the two languages having absolutely no acquaintance with the other. Can we not then without hesitation assert that an estimate of an author based upon a superficial study of such translations of his works must necessarily be prejudicial to his name? But how, it may be asked, do these observations apply to the case before us. The earliest translator of 'Sakuntala' accreditedly the best work of Kalidasa is Sir William Jones. The observations of Sir Monier Williams, another translator of *Sakuntala*, regarding the merits of Sir William Jones' translation are interesting and instructive. In his introduction to his translation of *Sakuntala* Sir Monier Williams remarks that Sir William Jones was the first to discover that the Sanskrit language had a dramatic literature of its own and explains how he came to discover this fact. Sir William Jones had heard that there were many *Natakas* in the Sanskrit language and believed that they were so many *histories*. He questioned many a Sanskrit Pundit as to what these *histories* were like and received various answers of whose correctness he could not judge. On a day, however,

particularly lucky for the ancient literature of Sanskrit, he was informed by a Sanskrit Pundit in answer to his interrogations that these *Natakas* were *plays* such as were frequently enacted on the English Stage and that they were *not* histories as the Chief Justice erroneously believed. Thus corrected he asked for the best composition of the kind extant in the Sanskrit language and was unhesitatingly informed by the Pundit that *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa was out and out the best of them. He found it easy with the aid of Sanskrit Pundits to get a few manuscript copies of the play and some time after he surprised the world with his prose translation of the original. It is no matter for wonder that a translation of one of the best plays in Sanskrit literature by a gentleman whose only equipments for the task were his inexpressible surprise at discovering the existence of a rich dramatic literature in Sanskrit and his eagerness to surprise the Western world by the discovery eventually failed to secure favorable opinion from his successors in the field of investigation. We can safely endorse the observations of Sir Monier Williams, indeed far from complimentary, on the merits of Sir William Jones' translation, although we are not prepared like Sir Monier Williams to make the *amende honorable* by attributing the faithlessness of the translation to illusory causes consistent with his predecessor's linguistic fitness for his work of love. Sir Monier Williams' translation is certainly entitled to respect as more faithful to the original. But absolutely considered we are not inclined to place this translation on a high level of estimation either. In many instances the work shews that the author could better write good English poetry than comprehend the full force of the Sanskrit original or in some cases, its bare import. It will be easy to illustrate our observations by quotation from the translation but as we have other opportunities in the course of this paper to refer to passages in the original and the translation for other purposes we refrain from unnecessarily swelling it by a repetition.

Now another reason for the very moderate and measured praise accorded to the writings of Kalidasa by Western Critics is furnished by the spirit with which his works have been studied in their English garb. Starting with a strong prejudice, sometimes well expressed but often ill-concealed, against the fabulous antiquity claimed for these works and inclined 'to bring down' the date of Kalidasa to

the most recent possible times consistently not with logic but with the semblance of it, the oriental scholars of the west have now and then dipped into these works with the one fixed idea of securing internal evidences against their alleged antiquity. Such words as *Huna* and *Parasika* which could never hope to be placed in the witness-box before a tribunal constituted to investigate the merits of Kalidasa as a poet or dramatist are summoned to appear before the public and are coerced to depose against the antiquity of the works in one of whose corners they lay penned up for ages without attracting the slightest notice from the most careful reader. The most interesting portions in the famous writings of this author in the opinion of these oriental scholars are generally found in those uninteresting verses which reward their spirit of antiquarian research with unimportant and indefinite information, if it is worth the name, showing the meagre knowledge, geographical or astronomical, of the Indians of Kalidasa's date. They examined not the sober truths contained in every page of Kalidasa's writings; they did not permit their thoughts to linger at and assimilate the intellectual and the spiritual food which every page had ready made for every hungry reader. They never suffered themselves to pause and admire the majesty, the rich melody and the grand simplicity of his verses; they never had a word of praise to bestow on the rich imagery of his description in the *Raghuvamsa* of the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges; their minds were all pre-occupied with the credulity, why, the insolence of the Hindus who without the precaution of maintaining any reliable chronology had still the hardihood to place Kalidasa before the birth of their Saviour and they studied these works over and over again determined to find sufficient data to place him after the celebrated Astronomer Aryabhatta. There is nothing surprising under these circumstances, in the fact that this poet of India did not receive the full meed of praise from oriental scholars.

Yet another cause that has contributed in no inconsiderable measure to the faint praise with which this poet has been rewarded by occidental critics is the ignorance of the west of the difference in the fundamental conception of the function of the drama. While in England the function of the drama is, in the words of Shakespeare, 'to hold the mirror up to nature' and 'to show the very age and

body of the time, his form and pressure' the dramatists of India had early learned to regard a play as conferring 'religious merits on the author, the actors and the audience alike, as furnishing a delightful entertainment to the gods and as contributing directly and indirectly to the emancipation of the soul from its bondage; and from this difference in the conception of the function of dramatic literature arose nearly all the difference at present existing between the plays of England and those of India, in the choice of the subject and the hero, in the style employed, in the general method of treatment and in the weaving of the plot. The English drama glories in the delineation of character, in thrilling descriptions of the systole and diastole—the ebb and flow—of human thoughts and passions and in the absorbing interest of intricate plots. Life for the purpose of the English drama is with all its evanescent phases no mere phantasm. It is a reality. As for a here-after, whatever be the beliefs of the dramatist, the actor, the audience or the *dramatis personae*, it is tacitly assumed, for the purposes of the play, that those beliefs do not any way influence them in the practical concerns of their mundane existence. Bishops and archbishops are made to lay aside their religious, or it may be, superstitious beliefs and are made to play an active part in plots and conspiracies calculated and shrewdly designed to further their earthly interests in utter disregard of the principles on which they might have vauntingly harangued to their congregation on a Sabbath day. The rise and fall of Empires, the extension of dominions, murders secretly plotted and diabolically executed, shocking disappointments, agreeable surprises, love's labour lost, much ado about nothing, the end of ambition, the comedy of errors, these and themes like these of entirely earthly importance call forth the tragic or the comic muse in England according as the conclusion is one of worldly prosperity or adversity. The hero of an English play however removed in the matter of accomplishments or worldly advantages from the audience that gather to hear the play enacted is still a man of flesh and blood, a creature of circumstances, hatching plans for the advancement of his temporal interests, pursuing with zest the fleeting phantasms that allure him into depths of vice and misery, pulled east, west, north, south by one thousand and one discordant thoughts and playing the weather-cock to the most deceptive illusions. The

Sanskrit drama on the other hand glories in a hero who differs in kind, and not in degree only, from the audience that go to hear his story enacted on the stage. Not that he is altogether free from the ills to which flesh and blood is heir, not that he seldom or never pursues the object of his love, not that he never frowns or weeps. His actions indeed closely resemble those of ordinary mankind but their springs are entirely different, not merely physiological or psychological but ethical and spiritual. He marries not for love but for the performance of the ennobling duties of a householder and in trying to secure the earthly objects of his love he is still conscious of the vanity of human joys and sorrows. The world, the object of his sensual perceptions, is not merely shortlived but an unreal dream. So are its joys and sorrows. Be he king or emperor the ruling thought of his breast is to lay aside his crown and sceptre at the earliest possible opportunity after having shifted the unprofitable burden of his position to younger shoulders to seek the calm seclusion of the hermitage where freed from the disturbing influences of noise and strife he might concentrate his thoughts on the one supreme Being in view to attain the only real and desirable consummation, the one-ness with the Absolute. It is no question with him 'to be or not to be.' How to shake off this mortal coil without the fear of having to assume it again is the only question that interests his spirit. He is thus a being moving in a higher plane than the spectators on the stage whose aims are purely temporal not subordinated to any ethical or spiritual yearnings.

It is therefore no matter for wonder that oriental scholars apparently unaware of the origin and the growth of the Sanskrit drama should have based their criticism of it upon its non-conformity to those tests which they have been applying in the case of the English drama and by that process of reasoning landed at conclusions and indulged in observations as little complimentary to their critical acumen as to the genius of the Sanskrit dramatic literature.

Before proceeding to discuss the claims of Kālidasa to immortality as a poet and dramatist we shall mention his works adding short notes on every one of them so that we may judge more critically of those on which the claims are founded; for although the Hindu holds in very high estimation all the productions of

Kalidasa, he has always conceded the palm to some of them with a discrimination that other nations would hardly expect of him.

The poem of *Nalodayam* is a poetical rendering of the eventful story of King Nala as narrated in the *Mahabharata*, the literary storehouse of the Hindu nation. This poem even in the eyes of its most admiring critics is inferior to others from Kalidasa's pen. It is a type and the worst conceivable type of literary legerdemain, devoid of any beauty of language or sentiment. It is full of verbal conundrums not amenable to any fixed rules of solution. There is a popular disinclination among the Hindu to concede Kalidasa's authorship of this poem very reasonably inspired by the apprehension that the concession would considerably detract from the angelic reverence paid to the deified author. Those who on the other hand find themselves constrained by tradition or other evidence to admit Kalidasa's authorship of this poem have a story to tell about the circumstances that led the author to give this poem to the public. It is said that the contemporaries of Kalidasa (and they were neither few nor small) who could not hold their own with him and had often to hide their diminished heads in his presence maliciously circulated a rumour that he could only write simple verses with ease and grace and that he had not learning enough in him to enable him to give the world a poem which required editing. The rumour in the usual course reached his ears and he felt so piqued that he immediately composed the poem of *Nalodayam* to silence his malignant critics and to shew the world what he could do if he chose. The poem was read before the king at whose court they lived and the critics of Kalidasa were challenged to explain the verses. They could not make any sense out of any of them. It was evidently Greek to them as it must be to every body. They felt rebuked, stood abashed and confounded at their individual and joint littleness and in unmistakable language acknowledged Kalidasa's superiority. We have not the slightest hesitation in denouncing the story as a pure concoction ; but we have every reason to believe that it was invented by the admirers of Kalidasa with the object of maintaining the celebrity of their pet poet who should never have attained much of the celebrity if his other works had any points in common with this very inferior poem.

*Jyotirvidabharana* is another work of the same poet. It is an

astronomical treatise in verse and is entitled to no place in this paper except as shewing that Kalidasa the great poet was an indifferent astronomer.

Ritusamhara by the same author is a poem on the seasons as its name implies. It abounds with passages of voluptuous beauty and affords excellent specimens of rich imagery from the grand panorama of Nature. There is of course a ring of sensuality about it such as is discernible in some of Byron's productions. As a descriptive poem it may hold its own with many of its kind in other languages but to an intelligent critic there is little in the work which could by any stretch of reasoning be argued to have contributed in any degree to the fame of Kalidasa.

The Meghaduta or Megha Sundesam as it is indifferently named is a short and sweet poem of two cantos. The plot, it is believed, was suggested to the poet's brain by the incident in the Ramayana of the monkey-God Hanuman having acted as messenger from Rama to his wife Sita. A love-lorn Yaksha passing his tedious hours in mount *Chitrakuta* is suddenly maddened by love for his absent consort and mistaking the autumnal cloud for an intelligent being requests him to pay her a visit on his behalf and assure her of the prospect of a speedy and happy meeting. The cloud is represented as having faithfully discharged his mission whereupon the lord of the Yakshas in pity for his subordinate's sufferings from separation from home remits the unexpired portion of the sentence, cancels the order of banishment, reinstates the Yaksha in his office and enables him to live happily with his lady-love. The chief value of this poem in the eyes of oriental scholars is the meagre geographical data which it furnishes and on which they rely to 'bring down' (an expression which expresses appropriately their painful efforts) the date of Kalidasa to the fifth or the sixth century after Christ. But to us its claim upon our admiration lies in the lofty sentiments occasionally expressed therein, the melody of the stately verses, the charm of its language and the glowing descriptions which it contains. We hope we will not tire our readers by translating for their benefit a few passages from this poem.

Though northward bound a little devious turn,  
Nor of fair Ujjein's cloud-topped mansions' laps  
Neglect the grateful touch ; for should you miss

The trembling glances of damsels there  
 At lightning's flash, your eyes have missed a feast.  
 The following is the description of the river Nirvindhya.  
 Now mark emerging from the Vindhyan range  
 Nirvindhya moving slow o'er high and low,  
 A silver-belt of swans about her waist  
 Making sweet music with the dashing waves,  
 Displaying as she gently moves along  
 Her whirling navel ; near the thread-bare stream  
 And mark her lean attenuated frame  
 Covered with withered leaves of neighbouring trees.  
 She looks a love-lorn maid with braided locks  
 And face all pale for love. So choose to act  
 She may her thinness lose and swell again  
 For you alone could work that pleasing change.

This translation, we must confess, is a bad enough specimen of English poetry, but we can even from such a translation form an estimate of the beauty of the original. The comparison of a river to a love-lorn maid is perfectly original and the one idea of the author is worked out with peculiar grace to some length. There are also other passages in this poem which are often quoted by Sanskrit Pundits. But notwithstanding the beauty of such passages and happy conceits we are not inclined to assign to this poem a very prominent place in the poetical literature of Sanskrit or among the productions of this author: The whole poem is an effusion proceeding from a pathetic fallacy and although according to Ruskin's differentiation it may be argued to be of the noble kind we cannot help observing that the subject of the poem is neither morally nor spiritually elevating. There is, added to this defect, the fact that the interest is not sustained. It has got all the tedium of a lengthy soliloquy without those interesting mental discords which make it endurable. On the whole it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that very little of Kalidasa's fame rests upon his authorship of this poem.

The next production of Kalidasa which may be summarily dismissed with the remark that it has not enhanced our estimate of the author is the drama entitled "*Malavikagnimitram*." Our opinion in respect of this play is considerably strengthened by the

anxiety of some Pundits to attribute it to some other author as it does not evidently bear the stamp of Kalidasa's poetical genius. It is decidedly inferior even to Vikramorvasiyam (another work of the same author). Of course it cannot be denied that there are one or two passages here and there in the whole play which may be worth treasuring up in our minds for the sober truths which they express an instance of which is furnished by the reply of the stage-manager to the question why he thought of entertaining the audience by the enacting of a modern drama while there are so many ancient ones.

"All ancient works are not *therefore* the best ;  
 Nor those more modern, by that fact, the worst ;  
 Those who can judge, see for themselves and choose  
 While fools take others' judgment for their own."

Even the admirers of Kalidasa however will not contend that this play contains any very obvious beauties of language or sentiment worthy of the brain that yielded a Sakuntala.

The second of the three plays of this author is Vikramorvasiyam. Good Sanskrit scholars of any note are agreed that this play is not only inferior to Sakuntala but also to some of Bhavabhuti's plays. There are indeed a few passages worth remembering for their beauty of language or thought which appear below in an English rendering.

Delight succeeding grief doth better taste ;  
 Men scorched by heat do most relish the shade.

\* \* \* \* \*

May wealth and learning still at open war  
 Meet at the self-same place and drop their feud !

\* \* \* \* \*

While young and strong, men garner up their gold  
 That they when bent with age may rest from toil,  
 The burden on some younger shoulders placed.  
 But me alas ! foredoomed to endless work  
 A bondsman for my life, no rest awaits.

But beyond these stray passages which may content aliterary connoisseur there is nothing interesting in the whole drama. There is no plot worth the name and absolutely no development or delineation of character. A whole act is exclusively devoted to a long-

drawn-out pathetic fallacy and disgusts the reader with its dull monotony.

Having thus disposed of such of the writings of Kalidasa as according to the consensus of learned opinion could not be believed to have contributed in any degree however inappreciable to the fame of Kalidasa we now proceed to discuss the merits of his other works the *Raghuvamsa*, the *Kumarasambhava* and *Sakuntala* the tripod, by the principle of elimination, on which the immortality of Kalidasa rests.

The *Raghuvamsa* is a long poem of nineteen cantos giving an account of inconsiderable historical value of the Solar dynasty of kings from Dilipa downwards to the last king of the line known to Kalidasa. The subject, it will be conceded, is not eminently suited for a poetical treatment and when we see, as nobody could fail to see how well the work had been designed and executed in spite of the nature of the subject it only enhances our admiration of the author's 'faculty divine' which could touch any base metal into gold. This poem is very deservedly considered one and probably the first, among the six *mahakavyas* extant in the sanskrit literature and if it is surpassed by any poem in the language it yields the palm, as some contend, only to its brother *Kumarasambhava* in 'the lofty flights of creative fancy. But this difference certainly marked in favor of the superiority of *Kumarasambhava* is in our humble opinion entirely traceable to the difference in the nature of the subjects which furnished the plots of the two poems. There can not be any difference of opinion about the fact that the story related in the *Kumarasambhava* is infinitely better suited for a poetical treatment than a brief and condensed epitome of the incidents of the reigns of scores of kings variegated by no thrilling or sensational events and so closely resembling one another that we may well view them as different editions of the same publication differentiated from one another not by any variety in the matter but by the thinness or the thickness of the wrapper, the durability or otherwise of the paper used, and the get up expressed in fancy or otherwise. We ought also to remember that while the anecdote, the fiction or the allegory (whichever expression may satisfy the reader) on which the poem of *Kumarasambhava* is based, had not, for reasons we are not aware of, been the subject on which earlier poets

sang, the story as narrated in the Raghuvamsa, at least the most material and interesting portion of it, had furnished materials for the greatest epic poem of the Sanskrit language written under divine inspiration by the greatest of poets known to tradition and to fame and full of poetical beauties that will live for ever. In choosing this subject for his plot Kalidasa was painfully conscious that he was labouring under a serious disadvantage and it was certainly not in a strain of affected humility, as some may fondly imagine, that in the prefatory portion of the poem the author referred to this disadvantage in verses which we translate below for those who could not understand the original.

How high the theme—the sun-born progeny !  
 How small the intellect I call my own !  
 Fool that I am to hope with one frail bark  
 To cross the ocean shoreless as it is !  
 A dullard striving after poets' fame  
 I shall be laughed to scorn, so like a dwarf  
 Stretching his Lilliputian arms to reach  
 The tempting fruit reserved for taller men ;  
 Or at the best my song upon this line  
 The theme of earlier bards may just receive  
 The feeble praise with which the string of threads  
 Connecting sparkling diamonds is damned.

Having thus suggested a plausible if not a thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the fact that some are inclined to place *Kumarasambhava* on a higher level of estimation than *Raghuvamsa* we shall continue the main thread of our criticism of these two poems of Kalidasa.

The diction of the two poems is at once simple and grand. The verses are short and sweet especially in the Raghuvamsa and both alike claim our admiration for the terse condensation for which some of Shakespeare's maturer plays are so much admired, the quaint but happy similes which almost every sloka contains, the lofty sentiments, the holy calm which some seek and few find in Milton's Sonnets and the varied range of learning and deep insight which they attest. Both shew many passages of unrivalled literary splendour and majesty of thought. Whole passages have attained the popularity of familiar quotations. The passages des-

cribing the conversation of Rama with Sita on the return journey from Ceylon (Lanka) are almost the best extant in the poetical literature of Sanskrit for touching pathos and grand imagery. Again, the hymns to God both in Raghuvamsa and Kumarasambhava are more thrilling than similar passages marked for praise in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. We are tempted though pressed for space to support this observation so far as a bad translation could do it: The following is our translation of the hymn in the Raghuvamsa.

All hail to thee ! of this vast universe  
 Sole author first, its kind supporter next,  
 Destroyer after all—thy three-fold power—  
 Thyself immutable, thy threefold state  
 In functions manifested self-assumed,  
 Even as the tasteless water dropt from heaven  
 Assumes taste diverse from the various soil,  
 All immeasurable, out measuring all ;  
 Full in thyself and full of boons to grant ;  
 Unconquered conqueror, the unseen source  
 Of all the vast visible universe ;  
 Enthroned in hearts though e'en from thoughts removed ;  
 Engaged in penance with no bliss to seek,  
 Compassionate but still untouched by grief,  
 Than memory older undecaying though,  
 Omniscient, thyself unknowable,  
 Author of all, self-sprung ; lord over all,  
 Still uncontrolled ; one indivisible,  
 Filling all living forms. Thee sages seek  
 For blest emancipation from their bonds,  
 On thee their minds by concentration fixed  
 But find thee not, though reigning in their hearts  
 With dazzling light. Who knows Thee as Thou art  
 That though unborn assumest mortal forms,  
 Death of Thy foes, though in Thy self content,  
 Awake in sleep ? The divers paths to bliss  
 By different schools extolled lead but to Thee  
 As Ganges' streams divided in their course  
 Do all alike the self-same ocean feed.  
 Who give their thoughts to Thee, please Thee by deeds

Induced by no desire for baser ends  
 Find Thee and never to this world return.  
 The visible world, Thy glory's concrete proof  
 Scorns all defining skill ; what need we say  
 Of Thee, Thine invisible glorious spirit  
 From holy writ and inference conceived ?

Rama returning joyously with Sita thus refers to the spot where he found an anklet of hers while he wandered in the woods in quest of her.

Now this the spot where going in your quest  
 I found your anklet lying on the ground  
 Tongue-tied with grief, slipped from your charming feet.

The following are translations of some of the passages that are oft quoted.

The cobra trodden on bites him that treads  
 By indignation spurred, not love of gore

\* \* \* \* \*

Great souls like clouds do gather but to give

\* \* \* \* \*

Obey, not reason with, the lord's commands

\* \* \* \* \*

The seed in proper season sown bears fruit

\* \* \* \* \*

The shadow of the earth has grown a speck,  
 By popular suffrage, of the spotless moon

\* \* \* \* \*

The furious blast whose force uproots the tree  
 Hurts not the mountain high

Self-taught the wind courts friendship with the fire.

\* \* \* \* \*

The fire discovers true gold from the false

\* \* \* \* \*

Attack the foe where weak and you shall win.

S. SITARAMA SASTRI.

## THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued.)

THE Chera, Chola and Pandya having been the only crowned heads among the Tamils for many centuries, they were collectively known as "the three kings." There were however several princes and chiefs ruling over extensive provinces in the Tamil land, who were more or less subject to one of the three kings. Some of them attempted at times to throw off their allegiance and set up as independent kings, but they were speedily subdued. First amongst the feudatory princes I should mention the Thirayan whose capital was at Kānchīpuram. This prince belonged to the tribe of Thirayar or "Sea kings," from whom the Cholas also derived their descent. During the infancy of Karikāl Chola, the Great, the Thirayan of Kānchī usurped the Chola kingdom and ruled over it for a long period. From the poem *Perum-pān-ārru* composed in honor of the Thirayan, it appears that the king bore the titles of Pal-vér Thirayan and Thondaimān and was a warrior of great renown. (1) Had the Thirayan removed at once the seat of his authority to Urai-yūr the ancient capital of the Cholas, he might have continued in possession of the Chola kingdom and bequeathed it to his descendants. But he remained at Kānchī and Karikāl who escaped from prison, found little or no difficulty in regaining the throne of his ancestors.

Other chiefs feudatory to the Chola were the rulers of Venkadam malādu and Milalai-kurram. Of the chiefs of Venkadam, Pulli was contemporary with the poet Māmūlar (2) and Athanungan with the poet Kallil-āth-thirayanar. (3) These chiefs were constantly at war with the Vadugar, who inhabited the country immediately north of Thamilakam.

Malayaman was the hereditary title of the chiefs of Málādu. The principal town in his province was Koval the modern Tirukoilur on the banks of the river Pennai. (4) An extensive and fertile

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(1) *Perum-pān-airu*.

(2) *Akam*. 294-310-358.

(3) *Puram*. 175-389.

(4) *Akam*. 35.

mountain plateau called Mullûr-malai formed part of his territory. Here Malayamán-Kári granted lands to many Brahmin settlers, and such a large number of them were attracted to the spot that ancient Tamil poets spoke of the place as the famous Mullur crowded by Aryas. (5) Kapilar the Brahmin poet addressed Kári as follows praising his munificence to Brahmins and minstrels.

“The sea cannot over-run it. No enemy can assail it Kári, who wearest the warrior’s anklet! thy land is the property of the Brahmins who preserve the sacred fires. The presents bestowed by neighbouring monarchs on thee, as the great vassal of one of the three kings, thou givest away to the minstrels who sing the praises of thy clan. Nothing deemest thou as thy own save the person of thy spouse who is as chaste as the Northern Star, and yet art thou supremely happy.” (6)

Another bard solicited his patronage in the following verse :—

“Thou descendant of that dauntless hero who wrested the plates of gold which had adorned the foreheads of his enemies’ elephants, and out of those plates made lotus flowers and tied them to the heads of his minstrels: Warrior chief of the mountain Mullûr on which the waterfalls descend with deafening sound through dense woods: that thou and thy warlike clan may prosper for ever, the learned Brahmin (Kapilar), than whom there is no wiser man on earth, has sung so well and made thy name immortal: that nothing is left to other minstrels to praise: even as no other ship can sail across the Western Ocean over which travel those vessels which bring gold to the shores of the Vánavan (Chera) we attempt in vain to sing of thee (as Kapilar has done): thou lord of the valley of the Pennai who hast routed rival kings who came with elephants and with thundering drums to fight with thee! driven by want and drawn by thy fame, we seek thy charity.” (7)

Kári waged war with Ori, the chieftain of the Kolli hills, and having killed him in battle restored the Kolli hills to the rightful sovereign, the Chera. (8) Elated by success in his wars with neighbouring chiefs, Kári aspired to be an independent king and assumed the diadem. He was hence known as Tiru-mudik-kári or “the

(5) Ariyar thuvanriya pèr ichai Mullûr.

(6) Puram. 122.

(7) Puram. 126.

(8) Akam. 208.

crowned Kári." Not long after this event, the Chola monarch who was incensed at the presumption of his feudatory chief invaded Maládu with a large army, and defeated Kári in a sanguinary engagement in which he was slain. The Chola intended to kill the sons of Kári and put an end to the family of the Malayamán, but their lives were saved by the intercession of the bard Kòvür-kilár. (9) Kári's son Kannan whose life was spared in this manner lived to perform a signal service to the Chola king. For, some years afterwards, the Chola, hard pressed by his enemies, had to flee from his capital and seek an asylum in the inaccessible heights of the Mullúr mountain, in the territory of his vassel Kannan. The latter who inherited all the valour of his father, revived the drooping spirits of the royal party, and rallying his forces succeeded in driving off his enemies and re-established the authority of the Chola. The grateful monarch made Kannan his prime minister and conferred on him the high title of Choliya-Enáthi. (10)

Má-vél-Evvi the great Vellála chief of Milalai-kurram belonged to a powerful clan, which was considered ancient even eighteen hundred years ago. (11) His territory lay on the southern bank of the river Káviri; and consisted almost entirely of fertile fields in which rice and sugar cane were extensively cultivated. "The gates of his mansion were never closed and he never sat to his meals except with a large company" says a poet who partook of his hospitality. (12) He died of the wounds received in battle, while fighting bravely at the head of his troops, against Akuthai, one of the generals of the Pandyan king Nedunj-Cheliyan victor of Alankánam who had invaded his territory. (13)

Vél Pári, a relative of Evvi was the ruler of a petty principality called Parambu; but as a patron of poets he has left a name which will live in the memory of the Tamils as long as they speak the Tamil language. After the fall of Evvi, Pári took possession of the high mountain of Parambu, and the lands surrounding it, and acted as an independent prince acknowledging the authority of none of "the three kings." He was a bold and gay adventurer,

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(9) Puram. 46.  
 (10) Puram. 174.  
 (11) Puram. 202.  
 (12) Puram. 234.  
 (13) Ibid. 233.

simple-hearted and generous, and passionately fond of poetry. Every wandering minstrel was welcomed in his mansion. The sons of song were nowhere petted and feasted as they were in Pâri's palace. They found in him a union of all those virtues which they loved to praise in their rhapsodies, reckless courage, lavish liberality and a gaiety which no reverse could check. He soon became their idol and his fame spread throughout Tamilakam. The bards recounted in glowing language, in the courts of the Chera, Chola and Pandya the princely hospitality with which they were entertained by Pâri. This excited the jealousy of the three kings and they sent their forces to besiege Parambu. The defiles of the mountain passes, with which Pâri's followers were familiar, were strictly guarded by them, and Pâri, by his personal bravery maintained for some days an unequal contest with the large and well-equipped army that surrounded him. At length the enemies forced their way up the mountain and attacked Pâri who was killed in the encounter. (14) The poet Kapilar who was the boon companion of Pâri, uttered the following stanzas when Parambu was besieged by the armies of the three kings:—

“It is hard to conquer Parambu though the three kings invest it with their allied armies. Three hundred in number are the villages in the fertile Parambu-Nâd : and all the three hundred are now the property of bards. Myself and Pâri remain : and here is our hill if ye come to us singing as minstrels do.” (15)

“Is it easy to seize the Parambu of which Pâri is the lord? Though the three kings who possess thundering drums, blockade the hill, it will yield four products for which no ploughing is required : first the thin-leaved bamboos supply rice ; second the jacktrees furnish sweet fruits, third, the stout Valli creepers yield edible roots , and fourth honey drips on the hill, when monkeys leap on the hives ; spacious as the sky is the summit of the hill, and numerous as the stars are the springs therein. If you post a chariot on every farm and an elephant to every tree around the hill you cannot storm it with your soldiers, nor cut your way with swords. I know by what stratagem the hill can be captured. If striking the tuneful

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(14) Ibid. 105-120.

(15) Ibid. 110.

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chords of a small lute, ye go singing and dancing followed by your songstresses, he will grant ye all his lands and his mountain." (16)

Of the brave kinsmen of Pâri, every one had fallen in his defence ; and only his two daughters were left to lament his untimely death. The troops of minstrels who had lived on his charity were loud in their expression of grief for their departed chief, and their tears mixed with those of the two orphan girls who were now friendless. Kapilar the favourite bard of Pâri took charge of his daughters and while leaving Parambu addressed the mountain as follows :—

"We loved thee once! When the toddy jars were ever open, and sheep were slaughtered, and rice cooked with flesh was served as much as we wanted. Now Pâri, having died, forlorn and helpless with tears streaming from our eyes, we bid thee fare-well ; noble Parambu ! And we depart in search of proper husbands for Pâri's daughters, whose tresses are fragrant and whose arms are adorned with bracelets." Kapilar took the girls first to Vichchick-kô and then to Irunko-vêl who were two petty chieftains in Tamilakam ; and both the chiefs having declined to wed them, he gave them away in marriage to Brahmins. (17)

Nannan lord of Chenkanmâ in the valley of the Cheyyâr was another famous chief in the Chola kingdom. The poem Malai-padukadâm was composed in his honor by Perunk-kausikanâr. It appears from this poem that there was a temple dedicated to Siva under the name of Kari-undik-kadavul on the top of the mountain Naviram in his territory. (18).

Ay, Porunan and Palayan-Mâran were the principal chieftains who owed allegiance to the Pandyan king. Of these, Mâ-vêl-ây belonged to the tribe of Vellâlas and was lord of the Pothiya hill and the land surrounding it. The chief town in his province was Aykudi (19). Ay-andiran who was one of the rulers of Aykudi is said to have once defeated the Kongas and driven them to the Western Sea. (20) Thithriyan a successor of Ay-andiran joined the confederacy of princes against the Pândya Nedunj-cheliyan and was defeated by him in the battle of Alankânam. (21) Porunan was

(16) Ibid. 109.

(17) Ibid. 117.

(18) Malai-padukadâm.

(19) Puram. 127-132.

(20) Ibid. 130.

(21) Akam. 36.

the family name of the princes of Nānjil-nād which was situated west of the Pothiya Hill. (22) His territory is still known as Nanjil-nād and forms a portion of the modern state of Travancore.

Palayan Maran prince of Mohoor was the head of the ancient tribe of Marar who were settled near the Pothya hill and who were the original stock from which the Pandyan kings were descended. During the reign of the Pandyan, Nedunjcheliyan I, Palayan Maran was next to the king, the highest dignitary in the state. (23) When the Chola king Killi-Valavan besieged Madura with a large army, Palayan Maran attacked him with a powerful force consisting of warriors mounted on fleet steeds and fierce elephants and utterly routed the Chola army. (24) The Chera king Cheng-kudduvan is said to have once invaded the territory belonging to Palayan Maran in order to chastise him for an insult offered to one of the princes feudatory to the Chera. (25)

The chiefs of Alumbil Kuthirai-malai, Pali and Thakadoor were subordinates to the Chera king. Alumbil Vel was lord of Alumbil, a town situated most probably in Kuddanad. The Pandya Nedunjcheliya I, who invaded the dominion of the Chera attacked and defeated Alumbil Vel and annexed all his territory to the Pandyan kingdom. (26) After the death of that redoubtable monarch, Alumbil Vel appears to have recovered his territory and we find him to be one of the leading noblemen in the court of the Chera Chengkudduvan. (27) Piddan-Korran, lord of the mountain Kuthirai-malai was the commander-in-chief of the Chera army. (28) Venman was the title of the princes of Pali, a fortified town in the gold mining district, which comprised the whole of the country now known as Coorg, North Wynaad and north-east Malabar. (29) Two other towns in the province were Arayam and Viyalur. (30) Nannan-Venman a prince of Pali acquired notoriety as a murderer, having condemned to death a girl whom her relations offered to save with

(22) Puram. 137-140.

(23) Mathuraik-kānchi.

(24) Akam. 345.

(25) Chilapp-athikāram xxvii—124, 126.

(26) Mathuraik-kāvelu.

(27) Chilapp-athikāram.

(28) Puram. 172.

(29) Akam. 257-396.

(30) Akam. 97—Puram. 202, 203.

a ransom of nine times her weight in gold! (31) A prince of this line was defeated by the Chera king Kalankaik-kanni-nâr-mudich-cheral in the battle of Perunthurai. (32)

Athiyaman, chief of the tribe of Malavar, was the ruler of Thakadoor the modern Dharmapuri in the district of Salem. (33) His ancestors introduced the cultivation of the sugar-cane into Southern India. (34) Nedumân-anchi was the head of the Athya-mân clan during the reign of the Chera king Perunj-cheral-Irumporai. He invaded Maladu and sacked Kovalur the capital of Malayaman. (35) The bard Parananar praised his achievements on that occasion. Being an ambitious and warlike chief he wished to extend his territory, and although the Chera king was willing to bestow on him all the land which lay around Kuthirai-malai within sight from the top of that high mountain, the chief asked for more. This led to war and the Chera king had to march with his army to Thakadoor to subdue the refractory chief. During the siege of Thakadoor Nedumân-anchi was mortally wounded and died soon afterwards. I have described the siege already in the account of the Chera king Perunj-cheral-Irumporai. (36) The poetess Avvaiyar who was a great favourite in the court of the Athiyaman describes in the following verse the terror with which neighbouring chief beheld him and his fierce soldiers:—

“Those who see thy brigades of war elephants marching with their tusks blunted by battering thy enemies' forts renew the strong bars with which the gates of their fort are bolted; those who see thy troops of horse whose hoofs are covered with the blood of their foes whom they had trampled to death, block the entrances to their fort with stout thorny trees: those who see thy sharp lances which pierce the hardest shields, repair and strengthen their shields; those who see thy fierce soldiers who bear on their body many a scar left by sword cuts, waste not the arrows from their quivers: and thou not deterred by the poisonous smoke of the seeds of the *Iyyavi*, which thy enemies burn at their fortgates to keep off your

(31) *Pen kolai purinta Nannan.*

(32) Akam. 198.

(33) Puram. 230.

(34) Puram. 99.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Thakadûr Yâththirai.

army, sieze and kill them like the god of death. Alas! Who can save the fertile lands of thy enemies whose fields are covered with waving corn?" (37)

From the foregoing brief history of the three Kings and their subordinate chiefs it will be seen that they were frequently at war with each other and that their subjects lived in the midst of wars and wars' alarms. It may well be asked therefore how it was possible for the arts of peace to flourish under such conditions. The answer is simple. It was only the men, trained to the profession of arms, who engaged in war, while the rest of the people resided within walled towns, and followed unmolested their different callings. The poorer classes who lived in villages remote from the capital towns were exposed to frequent attacks from the neighbouring chiefs and suffered terrible hardships. Their cattle were carried away, their houses were burnt down and they were driven out of the village or slaughtered if they offered the least resistance. The large population of the great cities such as Madura, Karur and Kaverippaddinam enjoyed however almost perfect immunity from the horrors of war. The inhabitants of most of the important towns which were strongly fortified were likewise secure from the evils attending an occupation by a hostile army. It was in these fortified towns that trade and manufactures were carried on to the mutual advantage of the artisans and the public. Caravans of merchants travelled from town to town escorted by soldiers. The principal thorough fares in the interior of the country were guarded by the king's soldiers and tolls were levied on these highways. The system of Government, which was far from despotic, also conduced to the public welfare.

The head of the Government was a hereditary monarch. His power was restricted by five councils, who were known as the "Five Great Assemblies." (38) They consisted of the representatives of the people, priests, physicians, astrologers or augurs and ministers. The council of representatives safe-guarded the rights and privileges of the people: the priests directed all religious ceremonies: the physicians attended to all matters affecting the health of the

(37) Puram. 98.

(38) Chilapp-athikāram iii. l. 126—Ibid. v. l. 157 ~ Ibid xxvi. 38. Mani-mekhalai. i. l. 17.

king and his subjects: the astrologers fixed auspicious times for public ceremonies and predicted important events: the ministers attended to the collection and expenditure of the revenue and the administration of justice. (39) Separate places were assigned in the capital town, for each of these assemblies, for their meetings and transaction of business. (40) On important occasions they attended the king's levee in the throne hall or joined the royal procession. It will be very interesting to know more of the constitution of the "Five Great Assemblies"; but no further information is available in the ancient poems which are now extant. The power of Government was entirely vested in the king and in the "Five Great Assemblies." It is most remarkable that this system of Government was followed in the three kingdoms of the Pandya, Chola and Chera, although they were independent of each other. There is reason to believe therefore that they followed this system of Government which obtained in the country from which the founders of the "three kingdoms" had originally migrated, namely, the Magadha Empire.

The person of the king was surrounded with much pomp and dignity. He was served by a numerous company of attendants. They are frequently mentioned as "the eight groups of attendants" which were as follow (41):—

Perfumers, garland-makers, betel-bearers, arecanut-servers, armourers, dressing valets, torch or light bearers and body guards.

The king wore a long crown of a conical shape made of gold and set with precious stones. Armlets of gold on his arms, an anklet of gold on the right leg, and a necklace of pearls or precious stones were the other principal ornaments usually worn by him. A superb umbrella adorned with strings of pearls was held over him while he was seated on his throne, or wherever he went outside his palace. He generally rode on an elephant or on horseback or on a chariot drawn by horses. Big drums resounded at his palace gate, early at dawn and at sunset. Time criers were employed in the palace to cry out the end of each *Nalikai* which was reckoned by hour-glasses. (42)

(39) Chilapp-athikaram, arum-patha urai on line 157. canto v.

(40) Mathuraik-kānchi.

(41) See foot note (38)

(42) Chilapp-athikaram. v. l. 49. Mathuraik-kānchi. 670, 671.

A portion of the palace was always set apart for the use of the queen and her attendants. She did not wear a crown unless she had inherited the monarchy in her own right. On all public occasions, she took her seat on the throne along with the king ; but her apartments in the palace were not accessible to males.(43) Dwarfs and hunch-backs and eunuchs besides a number of noble maidens waited upon her.(44) The attendants of the Chera queen Venmál who accompanied her when she came to meet her husband Chenk-kudduvan, on her palace terrace, on a moon-light night, are described as follow in the Chillap-athikaram(45) :—

“Some of the maids came singing sweetly, sounding the drum or the lute: dwarfs and hunch-backs carried musk and sandal ointments: eunuchs clothed in women’s dress, brought fragrant pastes and powders: some held in their hands scents and incense, garlands of flowers and soft cushions: some carried mirrors, garments and jewels: while other maids, who wore bracelets which glittered in the light of the lamps they bore, shouted ‘long live the queen!’”

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI.

(To be Continued.)

(43) Nedu-nal-vâdai.

(44) Chilapp-athikaram. xx. l. 17.

(45) Ibid xxviii. ll. 53-64.

THE GOLD NECKLACE—A TALE OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

"IT is hard, indeed. Just look at our neighbour's child. He looks so charming in his gold necklace. Won't you have one made for our boy?"

The speaker was a Brahman woman,—almost a girl—of twenty, in all the charms of prematurely budding oriental womanhood. She looked beautiful, enchantingly beautiful. Her dark eyes vied with her glossy tresses which had been neatly tied up in a braid. Her dress—a plain black *sari* with yellow silk fringes reaching down to her ankles in graceful folds, was wrapped round her slender waist and passing across her bosom and over her left shoulder half concealed and half disclosed to view the silk bodice underneath, which, assorted so well with her delicate golden complexion. She held her darling boy on her left hip, and her left arm gently twined round her lovely child.

She was talking to her husband. Tall and well-made, his was a figure worth looking at. His high forehead, his deep penetrating eyes proclaimed a man of mighty intellect. And so indeed he was. He had made a name for profound scholarship in Sanskrit. Though only thirty years old, men much his seniors in age were content to sit at his feet and learn. Drawn by his name, students from all corners of the Southern districts of South India poured to the humble village, and the *pials* of the neat and well-laid-out Brahman streets resounded with the voices of the students assiduously conning their lessons in Grammar, Logic, and Philosophy. Queer students they were! With ages ranging from fifteen to forty, with no cares save those incidental to studentship, they divided their time between study and services to their teacher,—services which they considered as their humble payment for the wisdom that flowed from his lips. And the villagers, rich and poor, vied with one another in housing and boarding them *gratis* and in showing them those little kindnesses which made them forget they were strangers to the place. At the time of our story, about twenty-five

years back, many were the villages that answered to this description. And now !—But let us to our story.

It was 11 A. M. Rama Sastri—for that was the name of the teacher—had just dismissed his students from their morning studies and had gone in for his midday ablutions and dinner. A little tired after his exhausting work, he threw himself on the cradle meant for his child, which was suspended from the roof in the centre of the parlour, and was gently rocking himself to and fro. His wife Lakshmi had completed her preparations against the dinner, and having a few minutes to spare before her husband was due, was sitting with her boy on her lap and was now and then devouring him with kisses and uttering those apparently meaningless words of endearment which only an Indian mother knows how to use. And the child, with his big eyes wide open, stared at the mother and was perhaps trying, in his own infantine way, to get at the meaning of those huggings, those kisses and those words. Hearing now the light step of her husband she almost instinctively started up with her child and slinging to his side with a graceful swing of her oscillant hips talked to him as related in the opening sentences.

They had been married some years. With no mother-in-law to step between the wife and her beloved, and mar their married bliss, their five or six years of married life had sped on as so many minutes. Their minds had been one till now : his word, her law, his wishes, hers. On one point she now ventured to differ from him. With a self-abnegation that was truly wife-like, she had resisted her love for jewels—a mania much too strong for the ordinary type of Indian womanhood—and had contented herself with the minimum set of jewellery prescribed by the unwritten laws of female etiquette in India. But where her child was concerned, her maternal fondness overcame other feelings. Would he not have a necklace for his boy ? Oh ! How nice would it be ! Now there was a dear. Would he not do it ?

So she tried to coax him into her views. For once, he stood proof to all her coaxing.

“Well, my dear girl, your wish is natural. Neither do I grudge the money. But a jewel on the boy means temptation to avarice, a risk to the child’s life. Shall I quote you an instance ? It will curdle your blood to hear it,”

He had hardly done speaking when there was a tap at the door. Lakshmi laid her child on the ground, went to the door and opened it. Her cousin—Krishna Aiyar—whom she had not seen for a number of years, stepped in, with his knapsack over his left shoulder. In her surprise at his unexpected visit, she confusedly dropped a word of welcome, and hurried in. Rama Sastri got up from his seat on the cradle and greeted him with a few words of welcome, which might, to a close observer, have appeared a little strained. To explain this, we have to go back to an earlier period of our story.

CHAPTER II.

Rama Sastri and Krishna Aiyar had been fellow-students. They had studied under the same teacher. Rama—the surname *Sastri* was a later addition indicative of scholarship—was a bright lad even then and gave promise of his later literary eminence. His conduct was as exemplary, and his disposition was as amiable as his intellect was lofty. But not so Krishna. Envious and revengeful by nature, he sought to make up for his want of intellect by low cunning and dissimulation. Many a time and oft had he tried to bring his companion into disfavour with the teacher, and ingratiate himself into his good graces. But he failed, and failed miserably. Judging by his own mind, he was not loath to attribute his failure to the superior tactics—as he called it—of his rival, and he hated Rama all the more for it. To crown all, there came to him a mortification compared with which all that had gone before was nothing.

Krishna's uncle—his mother's brother—had an only daughter. The girl was then about ten years old—the age at which Brahman girls are generally betrothed. To a respectable parentage and the prospect of a rich dowry, she united in her person the inestimable advantages of exceptional personal charms and a sweet disposition. She had many tempting offers for her hand, but from her childhood, the father had destined her for his nephew, and so declined all other alliances. The time being come to give away her hand in betrothal, he wished to see how far the bridegroom-elect had progressed in his studies, and with this intent paid a visit to the teacher.

"Sir," said he to the teacher, when they two were alone together, "you know the object of my visit. I hope you approve of my choice. I daresay the boy is getting on well."

"Hem! I should think so," replied the teacher. This introductory 'hem' was not very assuring.

"Have you anything to say against my nephew?" asked Subbier in an anxious tone.

"Well, sir, I request you to stay here a few days and judge for yourself. I hope you may have no fault to find with him."

At the best, this was not encouraging. Subbiar stayed a few days with the teacher. The result was as might be expected. At the best of times, Krishna with his sly looks and downcast eyes had but a poor chance. Added to it there was now the contrast with the intelligent and amiable Rama. The latter scored heavy odds against poor Krishna, and the heart of Subbier gradually and insensibly warmed towards Rama. He inquired into his antecedents and learned that Rama, left an orphan at an early age, was taken into the home of the childless preceptor, who brought him up as his own son, that the teacher had had no cause to regret the step he had taken, and that he felt more than repaid for his pains by the filial affection and dutiful behaviour of his adopted son. Thus drawn towards Rama, Subbiar cast about in his mind between Rama and Krishna, and after various conflicting cogitations ultimately decided in favour of the former. The preliminary negotiations were gone through; astrologers were consulted, and the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom were cast. The betrothal came off with great *eclat*, much to the satisfaction of all parties concerned and the chagrin of the discomfited Krishna. Krishna's parents felt sorely wounded by this affront to their dignity and the mother, even more than the father, resolved to cut Subbiar and his new connections. As a result of this, Krishna was withdrawn from his studies and was taken home to be initiated into the mysteries of rupees, annas, and pies, his father being a noted usurer. Rama had tried to be friends with Krishna, but his attempts at conciliation were fruitless.

"Truce to your tactics, sirrah," said Krishna, your plans have for the time succeeded; but let us see who wins the race in the long run. You shall rue the day you crossed my path."

Thus their ways had parted. Krishna assiduously applied himself to his profession and soon out-stripped his father in the art of making money beget money. His father died shortly—died with the satisfaction of knowing that his mantle had fallen on worthy shoulders and that his son was quite equal to sustaining the dignity of his profession. And Krishna soon made a prudent match and settled in life, and was admired by all for the ease with which he fleeced his ‘constituents’ of their assets.

Rama, in the meanwhile, completed his course of studies, and resolved to devote himself to intellectual pursuits. His preceptor and adoptive father gave over his possessions to Rama and lived a pious and secluded life. He did not live long after his retirement, but to the last breath of his life he was waited on by Rama who ministered to his comforts with a tenderness inspired by affection and stimulated by reverence. And Lakshmi—once the bride-elect of Krishna, but now the wife of Rama—had by this time blossomed into a lovely woman and vied with her husband in doing those little services to the revered old man, which only a woman’s instinct can think of, and only a woman’s delicate fingers, execute. Lakshmi’s parents too had died in the meanwhile and thus Rama, having few wants and fewer relatives to provide for, considered the property left by his father-in-law more as an encumbrance than a fortune, and leaving it in the management of a trustworthy agent divided his time between improving himself and instructing others.

CHAPTER III.

“Welcome, friend,” said Rama Sastri “It is a rare visit. I hope your people are doing well.”

There is not much meaning in these words of welcome. Indian etiquette accords to all guests alike, a reception of this nature.

“Thank you, cousin” replied Krishna “I am doing pretty well. Is that your boy? Such a nice child! I wish you joy of him.”

With that he caught up the child in his arms, kissed him on both the cheeks and laid him down. Rama said,

“It is time for dinner. Yonder is the river, where you can conveniently perform your ablutions. Make haste and be back here soon. We shall talk over earlier times after dinner.”

After dinner they sat and talked of old days. Krishna Aiyar referred to the days when they were chums, and the tricks he had played then. But in all his talk there was no tinge of his earlier jealousy, no trace of ill-feeling towards the fortunate rival. This was an agreeable surprise to Rama.

"I am so glad to have seen you," said Rama Sastri "you are so altered from what you were. It is really a pleasure to meet a friend with whom one can talk over old times."

"Well, friend," said Krishna "you may have heard of Chellam Chetty in a village not far from here. He is a well-to-do merchant. I have money dealings with him and had gone to him on business. You being so near, I thought I might pay you a visit. I owe you one. You know when last we met I parted from you in anger. I have got over those childish fancies. We will forget old sores and be friends."

These words took Rama by surprise. He was not prepared to find Krishna so magnanimous. He was sincerely glad of the reconciliation that had taken place, and pressed Krishna to stay with him for a week.

This was the very thing Krishna Sastri wished. Business had brought him to a village near. Having come so far, he thought he might as well see how his old rival was getting on. At first sight he had been smitten with his cousin's beauty, 'But for that cursed humbug, this paragon of beauties might be mine.' So he thought, and at that thought, hatred of his rival, which had lain dormant so long, revived once more. And he resolved to possess himself of her person if not of her love. These thoughts had passed through his mind in much less time than it has taken to write, and he shaped his course accordingly. How well he managed to mask his real feelings has been seen in the previous paragraphs.

So he said "I have pressing engagements ; but I will put them off. The temporary inconvenience is nothing to the valuable friendship I have been fortunate enough to secure."

Thus he had found time to mature his plans. He looked about him and pitched upon two young men—Swami and Sundaram by name—two declared libertines for his accomplices. Rama Sastri had once tried to bring these two to a sense of their shameless conduct. But they had resented his intrusion and thus owed him a

grudge. They were willing to lend themselves to any scheme against Rama Sastri and would suit Krishna's purpose admirably. They were taught their parts and were only waiting for an opportunity to set the scheme agoing. Meanwhile Krishna Aiyar was all smiles in Rama's home and appeared the rose while he was really the serpent underneath.

CHAPTER IV.

It was a fine moon-lit night. There was not a speck of cloud in the blue sky. The sun had set an hour or so, the short twilight—so short in the tropics—had entirely vanished, and the moon danced in the heavens in all the charms of rich, unclouded effulgence so peculiar to Eastern climes. The silvery brook glided along in gentle murmurs, and lost itself in a verdent grove of mangoes. The stream of water, ankle-deep and not more than a yard in breadth, had shrunk into the narrow proportions of autumn, and ran in the middle of the bed, laying bare on either side the gentle undulations of fine white sand. A slight dam of sand had been put up across a portion of the bed, through which the sparkling water oozed out into a rill. The water thus filtered was used by the Brahmans of the village for their morning and evening ablutions. By the side of this rill, the sand had been elevated to a higher level and spread evenly over a space of ten yards square. Early morning and at sunset might be seen on this platform a number of Brahmans with their three-lined marks of ashes on their fore-heads, offering their prayers to the rising and the departed sun.

On this bright spot, now brighter still with the flood of moonlight, Rama Sastri was seated alone, drinking in the beauty of the scene. It was a lovely sight—lovely enough to lure him into a reverie. There was no hum of busy human voices to rouse one to the stern realities of life. From a distance came the mellowed music of tinkling bells from a pair of straggling cows that were browsing undisturbed on the meadow in front. Charmed into forgetfulness of self by the harmony of nature around him, and unconscious of the passing of time, he sat there half dreaming and half awake. It is at times like these that the soul of man, soaring above the carking cares of this work-a-day world revels in the poetry of nature, forgetful of its confinement in this mortal tenement of clay.

All at once, his feelings received a rude shock. It came in the form of a voice from behind—a voice in which he heard his wife's name mentioned. He looked behind him and saw two men lying down on the ground under the shade of trees on the southern bank of the stream, and chatting with each other. They had not apparently seen or recognised him, or they were perhaps under the impression that their voice would not reach him. He did not know, poor man, that it was all a trap they had laid for him. Piqued into curiosity, Rama Sastri stealthily glided into the grove and hid himself behind a tree the better to overhear their talk. Thus does suspicion of a wife's honor set at naught the dictates of well-grounded principle. The two men, on the other hand, who had all this while their eye on him felt now secure of their prey, and went on talking as if unaware of the presence of any intruder.

"You don't mean Rama Sastri's wife, do you?" asked one of them.

"I *do* mean her, though," replied the other, "She is an out and out jade, and the fool of a husband is blinded by his infatuation. That is all."

"A fine thing indeed! He a cuckold, and he standing so stiffly on his dignity! Now do tell me all about it. I am burning to know."

"You have seen Krishna Aiyar, who is now a guest of Rama Sastri. He is no good, you know. Well, what does he do but blind Rama with professions of newly awakened regard? He seems to have been carefully nursing his feelings of revenge and has, if I mistake not, almost succeeded in blighting the conjugal felicity of Rama Sastri."

"But surely, Lakshmi is none of that sort. I don't believe she will countenance for a moment any designs of Krishna. You yourself know there has not been a whisper against her till now."

"Belike for want of opportunity. Opportunity makes the jilt. Any how I know what I know, and there is an end of it."

"But you have no evidence for it. You are so ready to believe anything against women."

"Look here, Sundaram, how should I otherwise know the early history of Rama and Krishna, the latter's baffled purpose and his vow of revenge? Nay more. How should I know that an altercation

ensued between Lakshmi and her husband with reference to a necklace for her boy? Rama Sastri mildly yet sternly refused to gratify her wishes on this point. Now appears Krishna on the scene, just in the nick of time. Thanks to the unsuspecting nature of Rama's and his own tact in the management of women, Krishna watched his opportunity and has won his way to the good graces of Lakshmi by a judicious praise of her boy. He has wormed the secret out of her, and, having with him a necklace—an unredeemed pledge—just the one for the boy, has pressed her into accepting it. Lakshmi keeps it all a secret now, but you will see the thing on the boy's neck ere long. Trust me, Lakshmi is a girl to manage any husband. I am in Krishna's secret, but a secret I don't share with you is so stifling. Hence all this trouble to convince you, you defender of the fair sex."

"Well, who could have thought of it! And of Lakshmi too!"

"Mind, my dear friend, the necklace is not the end of the romance. It is but the beginning, and who knows where it shall end? But it is high time; let us be off; supper will be awaiting us."

With this, Swami and Sundaram—for it was they who had enacted this piece of drama—rose up and walked home. Their words had fallen on Rama's ears like molten wax. He did not know what to think of it. He could scarcely believe his ears. Maddened by jealousy, he stood as one bereft of his senses. Was it all a dream—a terrible nightmare conjured up by his own fancy? It could not be. Was he not wide awake? But could it be true? It must be so. Else how to account for this confidential chat, which was not, obviously, meant for any eavesdropping ears. Stranger things had ere now come to pass. He would go and learn everything for himself. There was the test of the necklace; that would decide all.

So he rushed home like one mad. His wife was alarmed by his manner. Her womanly instinct told her that something had gone wrong; but what it was, she could not guess. So inwardly trembling from head to foot, she waited to see what it boded. And she had not to wait long.

"Have you got a necklace with you?" demanded the husband abruptly.

She stood silent,

"Who gave it to you?" This in a sterner tone.

"Hear me, sir, I will tell you all" said Lakshmi beseechingly.

"Who gave it to you? Answer me to the point." This was literally hissed out between his teeth.

"Here me sir, I beseech you. It was Krishna Aiyar who gave it. I will explain everything. I entreat you give me a patient hearing for a few minutes and you shall learn all."

"I have heard enough! Good God! That it should have come to this! Fool that I was, I took you to my heart and cherished you as the idol of my eyes. Blinded by love I thought you an angel; and you too seemed to dote on me as if I were the breath of your life. And this has been my reward!"

He could not say more. His feelings choked him. He durst not trust himself with her any longer. He rushed out of the house as mad as when he entered it. He walked on, not knowing, not heeding where he went. Nature had found this outlet for his troubled spirits. Henceforth he would be dead to his wife and child. Thus in a moment could jealousy undo the work of years of love and trust.

What a powerful passion is the jealousy of the Hindu husband! It blinds the most rational, it lashes into fury the mildest, of the proverbially mild Hindus. It drives them to desperate deeds. Reckless of consequences, the Hindu once goaded on by this Tartar chief of passions rushes on and, only too late, trembles to think what he has done. Woe to the man who rouses his suspicion, woe to the woman who comes under his wrath. The feeling is in his blood and he cannot shake himself out of it.

CHAPTER V.

Words fail to express the tumult of feelings, the agony of soul, that Lakshmi felt, as she stood in the parlour, stunned by the stroke. She did not realise it all at first. He was gone, but surely his gentler feelings would return. But had he been ever in such a passion? It was so unlike him. Gentle natures like his seldom took offence; but if they once received a wound, it seldom healed likewise. Oh! What would become of her if such should be the case with him. But had she done ought to deserve this? Ah! Yes, that cursed necklace. Would that it were in the bottom of the ocean. But surely there was no harm in keeping it safe for her cousin till he

should go back, when she would return it to him. Had she not been loath to accept this trust? But it would have been so unhost-like—not to say uncousinlike—to have refused to take care of it for a few days. Moreover had she not hoped with this to bring her husband round to her views and persuade him into making a similar one for her, no for *his*, boy? And could this be so great an offence then? No, no, there must have been something more at the bottom of all this. She racked her brain for an explanation, but it was no use trying. If he should not come back after all? Was her life then worth living for a moment. But then her child? Yes, if not for herself she must live for her darling son. But what a hard task!

Thus tortured by conflicting thoughts she sat down by the side of her child, who with now a smile on his lips—who can fathom the meaning of those smiles which now and then light up the faces of children in these their hours of sleep?—slept the sleep of childhood unconscious of the bitter woes of her who had given him birth. She sat for a long while, resting her left cheek on her left knee which, planted between the ground and her cheek, looked as if it had approached her ears to pour into them words of consolation and comfort. She gazed long and deeply on her child as she thus mused on, till tears filling her eyes streamed down her cheeks and she could not see. Then with a sob, she lay down by the side of her child, hugged him close to her bosom as if in fear of being parted from this her only treasure now, and all night wetted her pillow with tears. Oh! Why are the innocent thus trampled down and why are the schemes of the wicked thus suffered to triumph?

Days thus passed by in sorrow and hope. It was sad work for Lakshmi to go about her home, now that the sunlight was fled from it. She still hoped against hope that her husband might relent and come back. But as days went by and her lord came not, her heart sank within her. Her child was now all that was left to her and she clung to him with desperate vehemence.

One day there was a tap at the door. The door was now always more or less fastened. The little commissions for procuring the daily supplies were entrusted to a sudra female servant, who, having faithfully served the family for a long time, had come to be regarded as part and parcel of the household establishment. Rama

Sastri's students, finding their teacher gone, patiently waited for him for a few days. But not knowing when he might return or why and where he had gone, they had dispersed, some to continue their studies under other teachers, others to marry and settle in life. There were thus no visitors in the house save Rama Sastri's agent, who, with true delicacy, rarely intruded on Lakshmi and only called once in a few days to see what she wanted. She was thus generally left alone with her sorrow.

Thump went her heart at this knock at the gate. There was an authoritative ring about it. She opened the door with trembling fingers. But it was only her cousin Krishna Aiyar. Having set the mischief at work, he had wisely taken French leave. Thinking that her grief would have cooled by this time, he now came to complete the work he had set on foot. Pressed by urgent business he had, he said, to go away during his former visit without a formal leave-taking. But was it true, what he had heard about her husband's sudden disappearance? With an air of sincere sorrow he ventured to offer her his sympathy, and with a cousin's interest in her he seemed to fire up with indignation at the unnatural way, as he said, in which her husband had abandoned—yes, *abandoned*—her. He would gently remonstrate with her for her taking on so, and begged permission, if it should be no presumption, to offer her the shelter of his home. Thus did he try to work his way up to her regard and so to her love.

But her very simplicity saved her from being thus duped. She thanked him for his sympathy, blamed herself for what had happened and said that her husband must have had powerful motives for doing what he had done. She once more thanked him for his kind offer, but she would wait for her lord—with what a heavy heart God knows!—in the very house where she had spent so many happy years with him. Finally she went to her room and bringing the necklace gave it back to her cousin saying. "Here, cousin, take your necklace. It has been at the bottom of all the mischief. I do not blame you for it, you meant no harm. There, please take it and return home. I am now a lonely woman and it will not look well if you stay here for ever so short a time."

Krishna was not prepared for the turn that things had taken. His love—rather his passion—burst all bounds of prudence. He

tore off the mask he had till now put on and said vehemently, "Cousin, do not say so. Shall I be doing like a cousin to leave you thus and go away? You know you had once been destined for me. But fates willed otherwise. Thank my stars, they seem to give you back to me now. You shall henceforth rest under my roof. I will be your slave. Let me worship the dust you tread on. There is nothing unseemly in your accepting the offer of my home. The tie of cousinship sanctions such a step and is enough to silence all scandalous tongues."

She heard his words. From all gentleness she instantly turned into a fury. Her whole frame trembled with indignation. She drew herself up, raised aloft her right arm, and pointing to the doorway with her finger said "Be off, you wretch. How dare you to insult a lonely woman thus? Stay here but a minute more, your villainy shall be exposed."

He saw that she would do as she threatened. He had till now passed for a respectable man, and did not wish to be now exposed as a villain. He felt sure that it was as well her interest not to make any fuss about the affair and so the secret of his passion was safe with her. So he thought it best to retreat, but as he retreated he fixed on her a look in which was concentrated all the fury of his baffled passion and thwarted schemes, and said. "Silence, you vixen. I go. But know that you shall live to repent what you have now done. Krishna is not the man to put up with an affront. Your husband has already paid dearly for having crossed my path—let alone yourself. It was I that caused words of poison to be poured into his ears. And mind you shall not go cheaply off for this insolence."

With these words he was gone. She now understood all. Her husband had been deceived—cruelly deceived. Simple and unsuspecting, he had readily fallen into the trap laid for him. She now deeply felt for him. She was sorry that Hindu Society forbade a lonely woman like her to travel alone, even though it were in quest of her husband. She knew that inexperienced as she was in the ways of the world and its villainy, it would not be safe to trust herself alone outside her own roof. So she determined to wait for him where she was.

CHAPTER VI.

Five years had passed since the events related in the preceding chapters took place. Those were weary years for Lakshmi. Her boy had grown into a lovely boy of seven summers and had been put to school a year or two. He was a very beautiful boy. His sweet disposition and winning manners made him a general favourite. His name was Gopal. Even the *pial-school* teacher whose roughness had become part of his nature, dealt gently with this boy. He was the pet of the village. His wide, black eyes—they were his mother's—revealed a gentle, sweet nature and invited kind words from those who spoke to him. The abrupt disappearance of his father and his mother's extreme sorrow added to the interest the people had in the boy.

One evening as he returned from school he went direct to his mother, who, as usual, passed her fingers lightly through his exuberant hair, kissed him on both the cheeks and asked him how he had fared at school. He replied that he had done well and said "Mamma, I have a question to put to you. Our neighbour Ramachandran's father returned yesterday from town, where he had gone on business. He has brought a beautiful dress for Ramachandran—such a nice one! Where is my papa! I should so much like to have a nice present from him. Why doesn't he come? Where is he gone, mamma?"

These questions were perplexing: they called forth a flood of painful recollections. Hastily wiping off the tears from her eyes she said, "Dear boy, it is five years since your father went away. He parted from me in anger. Time may have healed the sore. Let us pray to God for his return."

"Where is God, and will papa return if we pray to Him?" asked the boy.

"If God so pleases, He can restore to you your father, to me my husband. God is great and good. Let us pray to Him to grant our request."

The boy closed his eyes and said in simple heart-felt words "God, restore my father to me. I want him so much. I will worship you with the offering of a cocoanut on papa's return."

The last words were part of a formula he had often heard his companions repeat. Hindu boys—or for that matter grown up men and women—thus tempt their Gods to grant them their prayer.

Sad and heavy had been the heart of Lakshmi; but the child's simple words soothed her sorrow and brought hope to her. Surely God would answer the prayer of innocent childhood.

CHAPTER VII.

One evening Gopal came home from school with a flushed countenance. His heart beat fast; his eyes were red and swollen; there was fever in the pulse. "What is the matter with you, child? You don't look well" said the mother embracing him.

"I do not know what ails me, mamma, my head aches so. I fear I have fever; I feel thirsty."

Lakshmi instantly put him to bed and wrapped him in warm covering. She sat by his side and felt his temples; they were throbbing. 'Ah me! What shall I do' moaned the mother. She never left his side the whole night. If he clenched his teeth in the heat of fever, she called him by name and asked what ailed him; but she had no reply. He tossed about uneasily in his bed; he restlessly shifted his body this way and that; but it gave him no relief. The desolate mother wrung her hands in despair and did not know what to do. Once he said 'Take the light away; I can't bear to look at it.' The light was at once removed to a distance and so placed that the shaded side fell on him. Thus the night passed—in fever and restlessness for the boy, in despair and sleeplessness for the mother.

But the worst was yet to come. In the morning the female servant was sent to fetch the village doctor. He was on the wrong side of fifty and was a man of long experience, having plied his profession ever since he came to years of discretion. His father before him had been the village doctor in his time. Profession among Hindus is nothing if not hereditary. The father trained the son and when he felt himself old and unequal to the efficient discharge of his responsibilities made way for the son who directly stepped into his shoes. This village Æsculapius was an old and tried hand, and, armed with certain pills—known as Death-destroyer—the preparation of which was a secret known only to his family, had many a time stoutly wrestled with death. He took

the boy by the wrist, felt his pulse with concentrated attention for a few minutes, drummed on the ground with his fingers and looked grave. Lakshmi who was watching him all the while with breathless suspense asked him to tell her the worst.

"The Vata and the Pitta pulses have effected a junction; it is a bad symptom; but with God's grace worse cases have pulled through with the aid of my pills."

So saying he recited a few verses from Agastyar, applicable to the present case, untied his medicine pouch, took therefrom a pill of the size of a pea and squeezing it to powder mixed it with a little honey. Uttering the name of the Almighty he then put it into the boy's mouth. He also left two more pills with the mother bidding her give the boy one at noon and one in the evening and told her he would call at sunset. By evening Gopal grew worse. His mind began to wander. In preparing for the homeward journey the child's soul seemed to be neglectful of the petty concerns that smelled of the earth. Next morning his mind became clear. It was like the last effort of a light that flames up ere it dies out.

"Mamma," said he "I feel as if I were going away to a better world. There is such sweet music ringing in my ears. Hark there! don't you hear it now?"

The mother was alarmed; she feared his mind was once more wandering; but the boy continued with logical sequence.

"Perhaps it is angels singing—angels that may have been sent to take me to God. Have you not told me, mamma, that there are young boys like me there, always happy, always singing the praise of the Almighty. I should like to go there. Will you go with me mamma? I should feel so lonely there without you."

He closed his eyes: the effort was too much for him.

"Don't go away now, my child," cried the distracted mother. "It is so early. How can I live without you? Oh God! Have mercy and spare my child."

"Mamma," he once more continued, "look there! Don't you see a boy? Such a lovely boy! What a sweet smile he has! He beckons to me, mamma. Shall I go? Wait till papa comes home and then bring him to me. Kiss me, mamma, don't take on so. There again don't you see that lovely boy? He is in such a hurry. So kiss me and let me go."

The mother stared round but saw none. Was it that at the approach of death, when the soul was about to be released from the trammels of the senses, the restrictions of time and space disappeared, and it could see things that are beyond the ken of mortal eyes? The mystery of death baffles our powers of solution; yet attracted by the interest the problem has to us, we hover round it like the moth lured by lamplight, only perhaps to perish likewise.

Lakshmi kissed her boy and hugged him with desperate vehemence, as if she could thereby save her darling son from the clutches of death; but even as she did so, his soul had quietly winged its heavenward flight.

The sweet, the gentle Gopal was dead. The pet of the village was gone. Lakshmi had swooned over her boy and lay unconscious of her bereavement. Such are the wise dispensations of Providence that when sorrow is most poignant it is least felt. The sad news spread through the village creating a blank in the heart of every one who heard it. Many a family felt the loss as its own. Young and old, men and women, poured into her house to offer her their heartfelt sympathy. It was no made up face of the formal mourner that they carried with them. Her sweet disposition, her modest unobtrusive manners, the mysterious disappearance of her husband and last but not least this heavy stroke drew tears from many an eye where the fountains of sympathy were believed to have dried up. Old hags who through long familiarity with scenes of death had become callous to the visits of the Grim Destroyer felt for her in a way that was surprising to themselves. Verily Death is fastidious in his selection. Many were there who were better dead than alive, peevish and helpless, a burden to themselves and their relatives—long past the ‘three score years and ten’ allotted to man on earth. But there they were, complaining and complained of, with no near prospect of release from mortal bonds. And yet this lovely boy had been ‘snatched away in beauty’s bloom.’

CHAPTER VIII.

A rude bier was constructed and the boy was placed on it to be carried away to the burning-ground. The mother now came to herself. Suddenly recollecting what had happened, she looked about for her boy, and seeing him about to be carried away, rushed

forth to possess herself of her child. But her neighbours restrained her saying. "He is gone never to return. What avails his body now? How can we poor mortals struggle against fate? What is to come will come. No use fretting one's self about it."

Sad comfort these words; but they did not fall on her ears. In her paroxysm of grief she struck her head against the ground, tore her hair, and beat her breast exclaiming wildly 'Oh cruel men, they have taken away my child. Why don't they take me too?'

There is no unmixed evil under the sun. The sight of such deep sorrow seldom fails to touch the hardest of hearts, and men who have never known what it is to feel for fellow-men unconsciously open their minds, on such occasions, to gentler influences. In the economy of Universal Statecraft Providence seems to set aside individual considerations when the interests of a community are concerned.

Sundaram was one of those who were deeply impressed by this scene. Our readers may remember him as one of the two who had contrived to send Rama Sastri away from his wife. He was more thoughtless than really wicked, and when he consented to play the part he played he did not dream that things would go so far. Disposed now in a penitent frame of mind to reconsider his part in the tragedy he blamed himself for all that had happened and swore with himself to repair as far as he could the mischief he had done.

What shall we say of Lakshmi's sorrow? It was too deep for words. The last link that bound her to earth seemed to have snapped asunder. The severe strain on her nerves brought on brain fever and for many days she lay betwixt life and death. But youth is tough and thanks to a sound constitution and the tender ministrations of a widowed neighbour she pulled through. The long illness and the longer period of convalescence did her good in one way. Grief for her lost son was still strong in her breast, but it was subdued. She would talk of him as though he were alive. He might be dead to all the world; but was alive to her. She would dust and air his clothes and carefully stow them in the wardrobe. She would look at his toys and hug and kiss them as if they were himself. So hours would glide by in this silent communion between the dead and the living. But whenever she thought of her husband she melted into tears. The death of her child was by some

inexplicable process connected in her mind with her absent spouse and the thought of the latter roused up in her mind a host of tormenting recollections and she yearned to pour her heart to him about her darling child.

CHAPTER IX.

The scene is now shifted to a beautiful village on the banks of the Kaveri. It was a fine April morning. The golden rays of the sun gilded the tops of the verdent groves that fringed the banks of the sacred stream. Adjoining the bathing-ghaut was a long tiled shed open on one side. Here on this morning was assembled almost all the elderly Brahman population of the village. They were listening with rapt attention to the words that fell from the lips of a Sastri, who, seated on a plank in the centre, was holding forth on religion. Now and then another who was seated by him read out a few verses from a book of *anjani* leaves before him, and the Sastri taking them for his text poured out his soul in words of thrilling eloquence, and his audience were swayed as they had never been before. There had been similar readings ere the Sastri came in their midst, but they had been tame and soporific, and were listened to mainly by elderly matrons and widows, from a feeling that attendance on such occasions conferred spiritual benefit and gave them a status and a name for religious fervour. But it was different with the lectures of this Sastri. His words were simple, yet sweet. His illustrations were drawn from every day experience and they brought home to the minds of his hearers the religious and moral truths he was explaining. There was a tinge of sadness in his face, that harmonised well with his words when lifting high his pensive eyes he spoke to them of the vanity of human joys. The lecture on the day in question was over by ten o'clock and his audience dispersed severally, save one or two that lingered behind to take the Sastri to dinner.

He had come to the village only a few months back. His majestic form inspired the villagers with confidence; his soft and winning ways endeared him to them; his learning and eloquence extorted their admiration and respect. His antecedents were unknown; but it was no matter. There was a regular scramble among the Brahmans of the village who were well-to-do landed proprietors to take him to their homes and feast him.

Need we say that he was none other than Rama Sastri who, ever since he turned his back on his home, was thus going about from village to village sowing seeds of wisdom wherever he went, and who was feted and lionised for his learning and moral worth? Yet in the midst of all these adulations he was not happy. There was a blank in the heart which it was hard to fill up. Now and then he thought he might have been a little hasty, but having a stern—rather over stern—sense of duty he attributed these gentler thoughts to the suggestions of the baser nature in him, and with a stoical severity strengthened himself against these, as he considered them to be, temptations.

Rama Sastri was about to follow his host for the day, when Sundaram stepped in front of him and begged for a short interview. The sight of one that belonged to his native village stirred up strange emotions in his breast. He longed to hear a word of her he had left behind. But no, he would not thus compromise his dignity. He would rather crush his rebellious heart that ran after one who, he thought, had forfeited all claims to his affection and regard. And then to inquire of this man of all men! But he would not appear rude. It would not be right to avoid one who had voluntarily courted his notice. So he said—

“Ah! Is it Sundram? I hope you do well.

“Thank you,” replied Sundram “I am doing pretty well. But I do not deserve these kind words from you. I have done you naught but injury and you speak to me as to a friend.”

“Young man,” said Rama “know man cannot harm man unless he be a tool in the hands of the Almighty; but in his ignorance he thinks he has done it all. Oh! vain delusion.”

“But sir,” replied Sundaram “I knew full well what I was about to do and what would come of it. But I forget you do not know all. When you learn what I did, you will see reason to change your opinion.”

“Whatever you may have done, you feel sorry for it now. That is the best amends you can make. But will you let me know what you want? You seemed to have something particular to talk to me.”

“I have bad news for you sir. But let me first of all tell you you did wrong in having so hastily parted from your wife. She is

innocent. She is an angel and I purposely vilified her in your presence to set you against her and send you away from her. And she has suffered enough,—more than man can bear. Your child too is dead—the child that sustained her in your absence. Oh! It is dreadful to think what she has gone through. And yet she is so virtuous, so innocent.”

With a beating heart Rama Sastri now heard all the particulars—Krishna's villainous scheme, Sundaram's share in the plot, the history of his son who was a general favourite in the village, his death, her subsequent sorrow and illness. He did not feel the death of his son so much, not having lived at home long enough to have loved him. But he felt for his suffering wife. He could understand how much she must have suffered. Many a time during the course of the narration he sobbed aloud—this stoic—and found it hard not to betray his agitation. When he had heard all he said—

“Sundaram, I thank you from my heart for the service that you have now done. Few would have thus come forward to accuse themselves. Will you let me know what people thought of my sudden disappearance?”

“What could they think of it? It was a mystery they could not solve. If your wife had not been so far above the breath of suspicion, the reason would not have been far to seek. But baffled for an explanation in that direction they supposed that your Vedantic turn of mind had had developed into insanity. Your agent offered to go in quest of you. But your wife deterred him from the pursuit saying ‘No, my lord is wise enough. He needs none to guide him. He would not have gone without sufficient reasons. When he thinks it fit to return he will. Let him not then be disturbed. I know enough of him to guess he will resent it as a rude intrusion.’ Thus the matter dropped.”

“Sundaram, I thank you once more. But will you do me a favour? Will you promise that the secret shall live and die with us? Will you also manage to tie the tongues of Krishna and that other accomplice of yours?”

“Nothing is easier,” replied Sundaram, “Self-interest, if nothing else, will keep me from giving out my share in the base plot. As for my accomplice, he died a victim to his excesses. And do you know, sir? Krishna has turned mad. He had lent a large sum

of money to one who, he thought, was in affluent circumstances ; but the man became a bankrupt and Krishna is now a maniac. But Krishna is harmless in his madness, though he suffers enough. Whenever he appears in the street, the urchins at play hoot and follow him, and torment him in a variety of ways. It is a pitiable sight. He rarely talks : When he talks, it is only about his money. So your secret is safe and you need have no apprehensions on that score."

Little more remains to be said. Thus assured Rama hastened home. We need not dwell much on the meeting of the parted pair. Long and silently they pressed against each other and mingled their tears in one stream. At last she said "our boy is dead and with his last words bade me take you to him. Now that you have come I feel as if our child were restored to us."

Rama Sastri's philosophy knew not to account for the temporary triumph of vice by theorising on the powerlessness of the Divine Architect. He said—

"God is great : His ways are inscrutable ; but let us remember that they are just. It is presumption to seek to measure His wisdom with the aid of our limited faculties."

B. V. KAMESVARA AIYAR.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

IN a recent number of this Review we drew the attention of our readers to the position of Indians in South Africa. The question has now assumed an acute phase. We have received a bulky memorial to Mr. Chamberlain proceeding from the representatives of the British Indians in Natal in which they complain of the attitude of the colonists against them and pray for his intervention as secretary of the colonies.

In India it is a matter of reproach that on the Congress platform Hindu patriots demand equal rights for all, denounce the arrogance of the European caste, refer Englishmen to their own and American History in vindication of the equal rights of man ; and that while claiming such rights themselves, also try to uphold in all its severity the rigid rules of caste, deny social equality to the lower castes solely on that account, and wherever possible prefer the interests of the caste Hindus as against the Pariahs &c. According to our opponents there is no doubt the conduct of the Caste Hindus towards the others is in direct contravention of the principles which they invoke in their agitation against the political supremacy of Englishmen.

Similarly though Congressmen are vehement in their denunciation of the policy of placing the interests of a few Anglo-Indians above that of the millions of Indian taxpayers, yet when any legislation is proposed in India intended to help the toiling millions against the wealthy few, many of these gentlemen come forward with specious arguments based on old notions of property and denounce such legislation as revolutionary and subversive of Society. To take only one more instance. If there is one matter on which all Congressmen are agreed, from one end of India to the other, it is on the benefits of Education. In the Legislative Councils, at public meetings, and in fact on every possible occasion the necessity of imparting education is insisted upon and any policy of Government which has a retrograde tendency is denounced : yet Englishmen ask us how many Caste Hindus are there who are in favor of imparting education in Vedas, and Sastras, to the low Castes.

Our English friends are not much better. In England, when the Roman Catholics were in power, the other sects claimed and were denied freedom of conscience. When their positions were reversed and those sects attained power they were as ardent persecutors as any and the Roman Catholics then discovered the virtue of toleration. The same story is repeated in our own times. The English dictionary was ransacked to find terms to express the horror and disgust of the English people on account of what are called the Armenian massacres. In Transvaal the Englishmen are indignant because certain political privileges are denied them by men of an alien race. The reluctance of the Dutch settlers, who are afraid of the political predominance, which the English Colonists would acquire if equal rights are granted, is likely to be made the pretext of a war between England and Transvaal and the very Johannesburg newspapers which are loudest in their denunciations of Dutch tyranny do not hesitate to uphold doctrines directly the reverse, when they have to deal with a state of things very similar but where the application of the liberal principles would be the detriment of the interests of their own race.

Till very recently Natal has openly encouraged Indian immigration, with considerable benefit to the colonists as well as to themselves. For it may be assumed that the Europeans would not have thus assisted the Indians to prosper unless their presence had been conducive to their own prosperity as well. Those Indians who go to Natal are of two classes, the indentured and the free. The indentured Indians are employed by the European agriculturists, employed in thousands as farm servants as well also as domestic servants, on account of their great superiority to the Kaffir population as laborers, and they are considered so useful that indentures for hundreds come to India by almost every mail. The objection is not so much to this indentured cooly as to the free Indian but every indentured cooly must become a free Indian after the expiration of his term and if free Indians are not wanted, why do the colonists bring so many indentured coolies into Natal? The remedy appears very simple, let them not employ cooly labor. The colonists no doubt attempted to compel the return of the Indentured Indian at the end of the contract but the attempt was unsuccessful. Now as to the Free Indian. The Indian trader obviously could not exist

without the help of European merchants. It is said that there is scarcely any Commercial House of any standing in Durban which has not scores of Indians as "clients." As to the Indian who takes to agriculture, he must rent his land from a European and his products must be sold to European households. We understand that the people of Durban and other parts of the colony would find themselves very badly off for kitchen requisites if it were not for coolie market gardeners and hawkers. As to the Indian domestic servant but for the help afforded by the Europeans, he could not exist. So that if the colonists are pretty unanimous in their attitude against the Indian no question can possibly arise. The poor Indians who emigrate would only be too glad to return to India at the conclusion of the period of Indenture.

In support of these conclusions we may refer to the report of one of the commissioners appointed to report on Indian matters nearly 10 years ago.

"So far as concerns free Indian traders, their competition and the consequent lowering of the articles of consumption by which the public benefits (and yet strange to say of which it complains) it is clearly shown that these Indian shops have been and are most exclusively supported by the larger firms of white merchants who thus practically employ these men to dispose of their goods."

As to the benefits the colony has derived the following extract is sufficient in our opinion.

"Twenty Five years ago in the towns and townships, fruits, vegetables, and fish could hardly be bought. A cauliflower sold for half a crown. Why did not farmers go in for market gardening? There may have been some laziness, but on the other hand, to grow wholesale was useless. I have known the case of cartloads of fruit &c. sent a long way, but in good condition to the city, unsaleable. The party who would give half a crown for a stray cauliflower would naturally demur to give a shilling for one, when he saw a waggon-load of them. Here we needed an industrious class of hawkers who could live cheaply and find pleasure and profit in supplying these wants and we got it in the time expired indentured coolie. And for waiters and cooks, public or private, the coolie has supplied want, for in these matters the mass of our

natives are awkward, and when not, as soon as carefully taught, are off to their kraals."

The Indian therefore has been of great benefit to the colony. That the Indian wherever he goes is amenable to law does not require any argument. If then these Indians are a law-abiding people, if their presence has been beneficial to the colony, and desired and encouraged by apparently a large section of Europeans, what is the basis of this agitation against them? We shall quote their own words.

"The frugal Indian, imported because of his power to assist the colonist in working in country at a profit, has established himself as a dangerous trade competitor, has himself developed into a settler and threatens to oust his old employer from the market" *Star Johannesburg.*

The Indian laborer if an artisan will work longer hours and take a lower wage cheerfully than the European mechanic and the Indian trader will sell his things cheaper than the white storekeeper. They are afraid thus of being supplanted by the Indian. But an Englishman is remarkable in discovering arguments to support his position. It is said that further immigration ought not to be allowed as the Indians already in the colony require protection. An English paper says "we brought most of them here, and it is only our duty to see that they are not subjected to the disabilities and disadvantages that would follow on such an influx of the countrymen as would make it a difficult matter for them to make an honest living." The argument is not worth refutation. We quote it only to show the childish nature of what is urged as argument.

Such then is the complaint against the Indian. When complaints of a similar nature are made by the Transvaal Dutch against the Englishmen the same Johannesburg paper from which we have made an extract makes the following reply which will serve practically word for word as a reply in our favor.

The Johannesburg Star sums up the situation with reference to the Uitlanders in the Transvaal thus :

"South Africa is a new country. It should therefore be open to all. Poverty should be no bar to admission. The vast majority of those now in affluence, came here originally with only the proverbial half crown in their pockets. By all means let us keep the

population reputable ; do so, however by the just and stringent enforcement of local laws against vagrancy and roguery, and not by the arbitrary exclusion of new arrivals before it is possible to know whether under the better conditions of a new country they might not take their place amongst useful citizens of the land."

We have tried to place before our readers the grounds on which Indians are sought to be excluded. The agitation itself is sectional. The majority of the colonies want indentured Indians though they know those Indians are likely to settle in the colony. In September 1896 a European Protection Association was formed in a town in Natal to press upon Parliament the necessity of enacting such rules as would really compel the Indian to leave the colony at the expiration of his term of indenture and to take all steps that might be found advisable for limiting the number of Indians introduced into the colony. In November 1896 in Durban a Colonial Patriotic Union was founded with the object of preventing "the further influx of free Asiatics into the country." And the following petition was addressed to Government by them :

"We the undersigned inhabitants of the colony of Natal do hereby most respectfully petition the Government to adopt measures which would prevent the influx of Asiatic races into this colony (1) The older and richer British colony of Australia and Newzealand have found that this class of immigrants is detrimental to the best interest of the inhabitants, and have passed laws having as to their object the total exclusion of Asiatics. (2) The disproportion between white and black races is already so great in this colony that it appears highly injudicious to further increase this disproportion. (3) The continued introduction of Asiatic races is in the highest sense detrimental to the natives of this colony from the fact that so long as the cheaper Asiatic supply is available so long will the civilization of the natives be retarded, their civilization depending upon their intercourse with the white races. (4) The low moral tone and the insanitary habits of Asiatics are a constant source of danger to the progress and health of the European population."

The 3rd and fourth grounds are absurd. The laws of the Australian colonies were passed without strong protest as very few were effected though open to the same objections.

The Government expressed its sympathy with the movement.

While the agitation was in progress two Steamers with Indians on board came to Durban. Many devices were resorted to, to prevent the Indians from landing and the Government, instead of affording all protection to the immigrants, asked the captain to inform the Indians of the intense feeling throughout the colony against their landing, thus trying to induce them to return; but of course the Indians did not return and landed. One of them, Mr. Gandhi, was subjected to rough usage. He was surrounded by a jeering crowd, was made the object of kicks and cuffs, mud and stale fish were thrown at him. One struck him with a whip. Under Police protection Mr. Gandhi was conveyed to the store of a Parsee, the building was guarded by the Police and ultimately he had to make his escape incognito.

This incident shows the lengths to which the extreme section is prepared to go. We will now give as furnished to us by the memorials some of the legal disabilities the Indians at present labour under in the colony.

1. The Indians, unlike Europeans, cannot be out after 9 p. m., unless practically they can produce a pass.
2. Any Indian is liable to arrest at any time of the day unless he can shew a pass to the effect that he is a free Indian. (The complaint herein is particularly against the manner in which the law is applied).
3. Indians, unlike Europeans, when driving cattle must be provided with certain passes.
4. A bye-law in Durban provides for the registration of Native servants and Indian servants who are described as "others belonging to the uncivilized races of Asia."
5. An indentured Indian when he becomes free must either return to India, his passage being paid for him, or pay an annual poll-tax of £3 as the price of permission to live as a somewhat free man in the Colony. (The London "Times" describes this condition as one "perilously near to slavery.")
6. Indians, unlike Europeans, in order to be entitled to the Franchise must prove that they belong to a country "possessing elective representative institutions founded on the parliamentary Franchise," or must receive an order of

exemption from the Governor in Council. This law was passed last year after the Indians had been in possession of the Franchise right under the general Franchise law of the Colony till then, and that law requires that the candidate voter being an adult male, and not being a native of South Africa, must possess immovable property worth £50, or must be paying an annual rental of £10.

7. The Government High Schools are closed against Indian students, no matter what their abilities, character, and standing.

The following is the statement of the legislation to be passed during the present session of the local Parliament :—

1. The Governor is to receive the power to refuse to allow any person coming from an infected port to land at all in the colony, even though such person may have transhipped at some other port. (The Premier, in moving the second reading of this Bill said that it would enable the Natal Government to arrest the immigration of the Indians to the Colony.)
2. The Town Councils, and the Town Boards are to be empowered to refuse or grant trading licences at their discretion, their decisions not being subject to review by the highest tribunal of justice in the land. (The Premier in moving the second reading of this Bill said that such power was to be given so that the trading licences may be withheld from the Indians.)
3. Immigrants are to be required to fulfil certain conditions. *e. g.* to have property worth £ 25 ; to be able to fill in a form in some European language, the unwritten understanding, according to the Premier, being that these conditions are not to be enforced against the Europeans. (The Government have stated that these measures would be temporary, and that after the Conference hereinbefore referred to, they may be able to bring in such bills as would apply to Indians or Asiatics exclusively, and thus admit of more drastic restrictions and dispense with mental reservations and partial operation).
4. A pass system is to be established in order to protect free

Indians from the unpleasantness of an arrest, and officers arresting Indians without passes are to be exempt from liability to answer any claim for wrongful arrest.

The following proposals for further Anti-Indian legislation have been laid before the Natal Government :—

1. The Indians should not own landed property.
2. Town Councils should be empowered to compel Indians to reside in prescribed locations.

We have now indicated the position in South Africa.

It is really a race question having its origin in labour competition. India's industries have been destroyed, her labourers have been starved and ruined, her import duties have been abolished in the name of Free Trade. In South Africa Englishmen seem disposed to forget the economic doctrine of supply and demand, and their own doctrine of Free Trade when their laboring classes are affected by it.

Where was the boasted British love of fair play when the Durban populace resorted to such brutality towards Mr. Gandhi. The employment of American Indian Auxiliaries in the wars between the French and the English have been strongly condemned, but what is the difference between that and letting loose against Indian British subjects a gang of whooping kaffirs armed with sticks only too glad to shew their dislike. The incident was disgraceful and shews a depth of moral degradation of that section of the English community not easy to conceive.

At our expense a huge army is maintained, an army not strictly necessary to preserve peace in India but to enable England to maintain her leading position in the world. We are told every day that we shall be protected against physical violence anywhere in the world and that we can claim equality of treatment with the British born subjects of Her Majesty. Has any notice been taken of the outrage on Mr. Gandhi? Any punishment meted out to those who took any part in it except to two or three Kaffirs, which of course was cowardly, seeing that they acted only at the instigation of others who were conspicuous in the riots. If we had a voice in the Councils of the Empire, if we had a Government of our own able and willing to protect our rights, would this insult have been allowed to pass almost without notice.

It is said that Mr. Chamberlain is to hold a meeting of the colonial governors in London and there the policy to be followed towards Indians is to be discussed. Let the question be decided once for all, whether or not we are to be treated like other British subjects in every part of the Empire. The Imperial Government we say *must* insist that the laws of the colonies shall not be repugnant to the general welfare of the Empire and India forms a part of the Empire—we want to know whether there is any truth in the oft repeated allegation that India is retained for her benefit, that England regards the Empire of India as a trust reposed in her by Providence for India's good or whether all this is simply political cant.

On this question no compromise is possible. Being British subjects, we must be placed on the same footing as other British subjects, any decision by the English cabinet the other way would be an indication that England is abdicating her plain duty. For it would be a clear sign of her moral lapse. And no nation has long retained its supremacy when it has not been sustained in its efforts by a consciousness of moral rectitude. India's loyalty will be put to a severe strain if India's sons are to be regarded as inferior beings. India has spoken out her mind clearly enough at various public meetings. More significant than all this is the caution and warning conveyed by the Maha Raja of Durbhanga in his request to the English people to see that no injustice is done. Held in affectionate esteem by the Congress party, he is the idol of the orthodox Hindu. As one of the biggest Zemindars in India, his interests are bound up with the British Government. After all this the English Government may safely assume that India is of one opinion; and any false step which England might now take will be fraught with perilous consequences.

C.

THE MAPPILLA PROBLEM.

ALONG with educational progress there is a tendency distinctly perceptible among the different classes inhabiting this country to split themselves into separate communities. Thus, while formerly, the only recognised communities among us were the Native and the European, the consciousness of self-interest has now created several divisions among the former. The Mahomedans first claimed that they belonged to a different community and religion from those to which the rest of the people acknowledged allegiance; then came the Native Christians who wanted to form themselves into a separate community with their special organs to ventilate their grievances; and now we have the Pariahs with their Mahajana Sabha and separate organs of public opinion. We have mentioned these three instances because they are the most prominent, the most marked and the most easily realised. There are other instances of minor classes claiming themselves to be separate communities; and as Western education advances, the number of communities may be expected to infinitely increase. The Brahmins have not yet become a separate community because they have no claims to urge which have any chance of being more easily satisfied as emanating from a separate community. But we frequently hear of other communities, with their special claims upon the Government, urging and emphasising their disabilities, their want of encouragement in the public service and their helpless position as a community. Several non-Brahmin classes in Southern India are now in this position; and we find in Travancore the Tiyens claiming their due share in the public service. All these show that the consciousness of separate interest produced by Western education, is the great disintegrating force which splits up the large mass of Native population into so many distinct divisions. For the present these separate claims are confined to appointments in the Public Service; but we are not sure that other needs and claims will not spring up in course of time. A foreign Government which is ill-informed in regard to the internal economy of the people, naturally sympathises with such claims, and often feels itself bound to afford all possible

encouragement to backward classes ; and people who have no existence as a separate class take advantage of this by calling themselves a separate community. We cannot say whether the Government will not in the long run find itself inconvenienced and troubled by so many pressing claimants upon its bounty, and whether this state of things will not even lead to future political troubles.

The Eurasians have already presented a serious problem. They are poor and backward. They form a separate community. In their veins runs British blood. They are of the same religion as their rulers, and have needs and requirements which the pure natives have not. They accordingly maintain that the Government ought to provide special facilities for them to improve themselves and to become a prosperous and selfrespecting people. The Government, indeed, finds itself in a difficult position when it is confronted with so many conflicting problems. But these problems are nothing when compared with the problem which the Mappilla has presented in the most troublesome form. Other problems could be dealt with by peaceful methods, they could even be left to solve themselves. But the Mappilla problem is one which cannot be postponed for the sake of convenience. It must be dealt with promptly and rigorously. His problem does not consist in claiming the loaves and fishes of office along with other classes. He has yet very little of that kind of ambition. He is not advanced enough for it. But he continues to give trouble to the Government and his neighbours in a manner quite unheard of under the old Hindu Kings.

The Mappilla problem, therefore, stands on a quite different footing from that of other problems : it demands a quite different treatment ; it has a quite different history. Our endeavour in this article will be to show, as far as we can, how this problem can be effectively dealt with, how the troublesome Mappila can be made a peaceful law-abiding member of Society, working for his own livelihood and respecting his neighbour's rights.

The rather frequent outbreaks that have recently occurred have disconcerted the Government, and made it think of remedial or repressive measures. But so far little has been done that is, in our opinion, calculated to put an end to the trouble. The recent enquiry made by Mr. Winterbotham has led to the remarkable

discovery that there is nothing to discover ; and the remedial measures proposed consist chiefly in the opening of new roads and providing greater facilities for primary education. There is also a proposal, which has not received the authority of Government, to assign waste lands to poor Mappillas. We shall see later on how far these measures may be depended upon to solve the problem. In the meanwhile we shall take a passing retrospect of the circumstances which, in our view, have contributed to these frequent outbursts of religious fanaticism and lawlessness.

It is first of all important to bear in mind that, although the European officials and those who are not well acquainted with the Mappillas are apt to treat the whole class as a set of disorderly, disreputable fanatics, the large majority of them are as orderly, as peaceful, as well-behaved and as respectable as any other class of people. The lawless Mappilla who forms a very small percentage of the total Mappilla population of the District, is mainly confined to the jungly tracts of Ernad and Walluvanad. There he flourishes in spite of malaria and poverty, free from the chastening influences of education and civilization. He is often a tool in the hands of designing men. His poverty drives him to recklessness, his ignorance makes him believe in the existence of an easy road to heaven. His religion is what is taught him by his Mullah or Musaliar, and these latter have little conception of the religion as taught by the prophet. The real trouble therefore originates from these ignorant expounders of Mahomet's religion, who are free to preach what they like. Prior to 1836 when the Mappilla first began to give trouble to the British Government, there was no fanatic outburst of the kind which has been in vogue since then. This is made evident by the records of the District. An official description of what is called *Hal Ilakkam* or frenzy-raising among the Mappillas of the Chernad Taluk and the neighbouring parts says that "originally there was no *Hal Ilakkam* there." The report which is dated November 1843 goes on to say :

"Originally there was no *Hal Ilakkam* there.

"In the month of Metam last year, one Alathamkuliyl Moidin of Kotinhi desam, Nannambra amsam, Vettattnad Taluq, which is on the skirts of Trikkulam Amsam, went out into the fields (Punja Pättam) before daybreak to water the crops, and

there he saw a certain person who advised him to give up all his work and devote his time to prayer at the mosque. Moidin objected to this, urging that he would have nothing to live upon. Whereupon the above mentioned person told him that a palm tree which grew in his (Moidin's) compound would yield sufficient toddy which he could convert into Jaggery and thus maintain himself. After saying this, the person disappeared. Moidin thought that the person he saw was God himself and felt frantic (hal). He then went to Taramal Tangal, performed dikkar and niskaram (cries and prayers). After two or three days he complained to the Tangal that Kafirs (a term applied by Muhammadans to people of other religions) were making fun of him. The Tangal told him that the course adopted by him was a right one, and saying "let it be as I have said" gave him a spear to be borne as an emblem, and assured him that nobody would mock him in future. Subsequently several Mappillas affecting Hal Ilakkam played all sorts of pranks, and wandered about with canes in their hands, without going to their homes or attending to their work. After two or three days some of them, who had no means of maintaining themselves unless they attended to their work, returned to their former course of life, while others, with canes and Ernad knives (war knives) in their hands, wander about in companies consisting of five, six, eight or ten men, and congregating in places not much frequented by Hindus carry on their dikkar and Niskaram (cries and prayers). The Mappillas in general look upon this as a general vow and provide these people with food. I hear of the Mappillas talking among themselves that one or two of the ancestors of Taramal Tangal died fighting, that the present man being advanced in age it is time for him to follow the same course, and that the above mentioned men affected with Hal Ilakkam, when their number swells to 400, will engage in a fight with Kafirs and die in company with the Tangal. One of these men (who are known as Halar) by name Avarumayan, residing in Kilmuri desam, Melmuri Amsam, two months ago collected a number of his countrymen and sacrificed a bull, and for preparing meals for these men placed a copper vessel with water on the hearth and said that rice would appear of itself in the vessel. He waited for sometime. There was no rice to be seen, those who had assembled there ate beef alone

and dispersed. Some people made fun of Avarumayan for this. He felt ashamed and went to Taramal Tangal, with whom he stayed two or three days. He then went into the mosque at Mambram, and on attempting to fly through the air into the mosque at Tirurangadi on the Southern side of the river, fell down through the opening of the door and became lame of one leg, in which state he is reported to be still lying.

"While the Halar of Munniyur desam were performing Niskaram (prayer) one day at the tomb of Chemban Pokar muppan, a rebel, they declared that in the course of a week a mosque would spring up at night and that there would be complete darkness for two full days. Mappillas waited in anxious expectation of the phenomenon for seven or eight days and nights. There was however neither darkness nor mosque to be seen.

"Again in the month of Karkidagam last, some of the influential Mappillas led their ignorant Hindu neighbours to believe that a ship would arrive with the necessary arms, provisions and money for 40,000 men ; that if that number (40,000) could be secured meanwhile, they could conquer the country, and that the Hindus would then totally vanish. It appears that it was about that time that some Tiyyar (toddy-drawers) and others became converts. For some days some Mappillas gave up all their usual work and led an idle life. In three days Halar were made much of and treated by some.

"None of these predictions having been realised, Mappillas as well as others have begun to make fun of the Halar, who having taken offence at this, are bent upon putting an end to themselves by engaging in a fight. A certain individual known as Harabikaran Tangal (lit. Arab high priest), with long hair, has been putting up with the Taramal Tangal for the last two years, offering prayers with a cry called dikkar. The Halar appear to have adopted the dikkar from the said Tangal, as it was not known to the people before. "The man who first had the Hal Ilakkam in the Punja fields is called by the people Punja Tangal."

The Hal Ilakkam set referred to above, are responsible for several outrages. On the 4th December 1843 they murdered a Nayar labourer having inflicted ten deep wounds on his body: On the 11th idem they murdered the Adhikari of the Pandikad Amshom in

Walluvanad taluk and a servant of his while bathing. They afterwards defiled two temples, broke the images therein and then took post in a house, and were ultimately shot. The description of the *Hal Ilakkam* set and the nature of the outrages committed by them show that mischievous religious preaching is the original cause of the fanatic outbursts we have had from time to time. Originating in religious frenzy, these outbreaks have latterly assumed a grossly worldly aspect. Like chivalry in Europe, which in its original conception was different from the voluptuousness and selfishness which pervaded it afterwards, the fanaticism of the Mappilla which began with a faith in the virtue of killing the infidel, has since been utilised for rapine, murder and outrage of various kinds, for personal gain, and for the gratification of sensual passions. The details of later outbreaks amply justify these remarks.

Fanaticism, as we have already observed, is the original cause of these outbreaks. Other causes have encouraged the fanatic spirit: one is the increasing liberty given to the Mappilla by the British Government to set up places of public worship wherever he likes; an increasing consciousness in him of his being able to outwit his Hindu neighbour with the passive support which the Government gives to his aggressiveness. Under the Hindu rulers the Mappilla had to abide by ancient custom—respectable Mappillas even to this day do not swerve an inch from the old recognised custom sanctified by centuries of unflinching observance. Mappilla landlords of Hindu tenants, Mappillas owning Jenmam lands in localities exclusively inhabited by Hindus, never think of offending Hindu feeling by allowing their own co-religionists or lower caste people to live on their lands, or by setting up places of religious worship, which they have every right to do under the existing law. Respectable Mappillas, like respectable Hindus, follow the custom of the country, the custom of the people amongst whom they live, so that in places where the better class of Mappillas live there is no trouble whatever by reason of any religious excitement or animosity. The whole of the coast is entirely free from any noteworthy Mappilla trouble. So are the Taluks of Cherakkal, Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Wynad and Calicut, the greater part of Ponnani and the whole of Palghat. The Mappillas in the latter taluks are comparatively well off with an old tradition

to maintain. They have not been influenced by the teachings of those foreign Muhomedans who have found paying occupation in the wilder tracts of Ernad and Walluvanad. The old Mappilla families of the country have their old established relations with the Hindus ; and they are not likely to be led away from those relations by the interested tactics of foreign Muhomedans who having no stake in the country and hating the "Feringi" government from the bottom of their heart, do their best to create trouble where none existed before. It is significant that there was no fanatic outbreak in Malabar before the establishment of British rule, and that there is still no such outbreak in Travancore or Cochin. We have heard in this connection different theories about Jenmi oppression and such like things as being the causes of these outbreaks. But such oppression, if it exists to-day, must have existed in a more aggravated form when the Jenmies themselves were the rulers of the country. It will be said, as some high European officials have told the writer, that the Mappilla population has since increased a good deal. But oppression is more easy when the objects of oppression are smaller in number than when they have attained such large proportions as now.

The truth is that under native rule there is the minimum of scope for misunderstanding and misrepresentation in regard to the relative rights and privileges of man and man. In native states custom is, and must be, observed ; and there is little chance of evading its observance because there is no uncertainty about law and custom, and there is consequently no temptation to set up imaginary claims or to defeat the exercise of rightful ones. In British India all the uncertainties which a foreign legal code and legal procedure have introduced have been found inseparable even from the acts of the executive. But for the technicalities and uncertainties which the British system of jurisprudence has introduced into this country, there would not have been so many contests in our courts of law even in regard to undisputed and indisputable points of fact. The Mappilla has not been slow to take advantage of these uncertainties and of the passive support which our government has been unconsciously according to his aggressiveness. And who are the Mappillas that take advantage of these things? Not the respectable wealthy Mappilla, not the man who belongs to a family with

old traditions; but the lowest of the low, the man who yesterday belonged to the lowest caste, but has now become a convert. Mr. Fawcett has rightly found that the lower the origin of the Mappilla the greater is his tendency to lawlessness, to disorder and such daring vices.

Another cause which has contributed to the increased occurrence of these outbreaks, is the increasing cowardice of the Hindus. The old martial races of the country, chiefly Nayars, have lost their old spirit. A century of foreign rule, and foreign laws administered by ignorant, unsympathetic and very often corrupt magistrates have destroyed every trace of manliness and courage in the people. The law, or rather the way in which it is administered, has made cowards of them all. Those who have nothing to lose are in the most advantageous position because they would not mind going to jail. Formerly the villagers invariably took part in quelling the disturbances which were seldom allowed to attain any large proportions. Many fanatic outbursts, especially in the earlier periods, were put down by a Taluk peon or some of the villagers. The first outbreak on record took place in 1836: a Mappilla of Manjeri stabbed a man of the Astrologer caste, and wounded three others and fled. He was pursued by the Taluk officials and villagers and shot by the Taluk police. The next was in 1837 when a single Mappilla who had laid violent hands on a Brahmin and taken post in his shop, was attacked and shot by the Taluk peons. In 1839 two Mappillas of Walluvanad killed a Hindu, and set fire to a Hindu temple, and took shelter in another temple. They were attacked by the Tahsildar and his peons, and were shot by a Taluk peon. In 1840 a Mappilla of Ernad who had severely wounded two Hindus, set fire to a temple and taken post in his house, was attacked, and, when rushing out, was shot by a Taluk peon. In December 1841 eight Mappillas killed two Nayars, and occupied the Adhikari's house. The Police peons and the villagers surrounded the house. The fanatics rushed upon them and were, before the arrival of the detachment sent out from Calicut, all killed. In 1843 seven fanatics after committing a murder occupied a Nayar house, and avowed their determination of fighting to death. A detachment of one Lieutenant, one Subadar, one Jamadar, three Naiks, 51 Privates, 1 Puckali and 1 Lascar of the 5th Regiment Native

Infantry, under Captain Leader, was deputed to the spot. They attacked the Mappillas ; but upon the latter rushing out, the sepoys were panic-stricken and took to flight, some of them were killed and several of them, including the Captain and the Lieutenant, wounded. The villagers and the Taluk peons then killed the seven fanatics, thus proving themselves superior even to the well trained and well disciplined soldiery. It is hardly necessary to give more instances of the kind to show that the ordinary villagers and Taluk peons could effectively quell these fanatic outbreaks without resort to the costly and complex machinery of a European regiment. At present an extremely costly agency is employed to deal with outbreaks ; and cowardice, which a Taluk peon would have been ashamed of, is now openly shown by higher officials of Government. During and prior to the recent *Ramsan* we had the interesting spectacle of the Collector of the District with all his available officers, a host of European and Native soldiers, the whole of the Malapuram Police and a portion of the Calicut Reserve, maintaining peace in the troubled parts of the two taluks. What is the lesson which this conveys to the Mappilla and the ordinary villager except this, that without bringing together and exhibiting these resources at the disposal of the Government, an effective safeguard cannot be provided against the turbulence of the few fanatic Mappillas ? In the years gone by, there was no necessity for such parading of troops, such keeping of watch and ward. Indeed, we do not question the expediency of the step the authorities took ; because the whole population had been terror-stricken, dacoity and murder were being daily committed, and there was a general fear that an outbreak was imminent. But at the same time it must be added that for the lawlessness which prevailed the initial apathy of the local authorities is greatly accountable. The real point suggested by these precautions, for which there was no need before, is that a century of British administration has, instead of improving the Mappilla, made him more turbulent and troublesome, and that this result is brought about *partly* by the cowardice shown by his neighbours and even by high officials of Government. Otherwise there would be no necessity to move so many regiments in the country to put down a comparatively minor disturbance which formerly used to be nipped in the bud by the people or the Taluk

peons. In an outbreak which occurred in 1851, the fanatics, nine in number, after murdering one Komu Menon and his servant on the high road, proceeded to Komu Menon's house ; but finding a brother of Komu Menon's ready to meet them with a gun and war knife, they left the place and went elsewhere. It would appear, therefore, that the fanatic can have fear infused into his mind if only those with whom he deals will show pluck and courage. If Komu Menon's brother with his gun and war knife could scare away a number of fanatics who had already committed murder and arson, there is no reason why now, when British rule has progressed so much, a descendant of Komu Menon's should not be found to help the Government in dealing with an outbreak. The truth is, the Government now-a-days does not feel that there is necessity to enlist the co-operation of the people in keeping the peace of the District. The quelling of a Mappilla outbreak is regarded as a matter of some honour ; and there is no motive for the higher officials of the District to share it with the people. They can call the European soldiery to their aid, and the local Police will do the rest. In this manner the people of the District have come to regard it as no concern of theirs to have anything to do with the quelling of outbreaks : they have no arms to protect themselves against rapine and murder ; and they have altogether given up the habit of resisting lawlessness and outrage, which was once the pride of their ancestors, the glory of their life. The Mappilla has accordingly come to feel that his neighbours are incapable of resisting him, whatever outrages he may commit ; and that he can practically be the master of the situation till the European soldiery is brought from a distance. What can possibly discourage this feeling in him will be considered in connection with the remedies we purpose to suggest.

As we have said in the beginning, the Government finds a solution of the Mappilla problem in primary education, in the opening of new roads, and according to opinions expressed by certain officials, in the giving over of waste lands to poor landless Mappillas. Ignorance and poverty being believed to be the causes which drive the Mappilla into the hands of the foreign adventurer who misinterprets Mahomet's religion, it is taken for granted that education and the opening up of communications will dispel the darkness of ignorance, while the plenty which waste lands will produce will

drive away poverty. It seems to be upon some such hypothesis that the above proposals have been made. But it is well to plainly state that they do not promise even to partly solve the problem presented by the Mappilla. Primary education is, no doubt, good so far as it goes. But primary education cannot convert the rustic of the wilds into the civilised Mappilla that his brother of the coast admittedly is. The existence of two Mappilla graduates in their midst will have a far more civilizing influence upon the wild and unlettered Mappillas than one hundred primary schools. It is worth considering whether the Government cannot pick up half-a-dozen intelligent boys among the less civilized portion of Ernad and Walluvanad Mappillas, and educate them up to the B. A. standard at its own expense. Such exceptional solicitude for the education of particular classes may not be justified under ordinary circumstances ; but the Mappilla problem is one which may well be sought to be solved by exceptional remedies. Roads may be opened, as proposed, perhaps with advantage ; but jungly tracts will hardly attract civilized humanity merely because roads have been opened. It will be something if these roads can be made to connect centres of trade and civilization, and if inducements are created for people from other places to pass and repass these tracts. It will be well to consider in this connection whether some public offices cannot be transferred to some of these localities : that will be an excellent means for extending civilization, and for bringing the turbulent classes under control.

The other proposal emanating from the officials is the assignment of waste lands. We have considered this proposal and find it difficult to accept it as any sort of remedy. It must be remembered that the Mappilla to whom it is proposed to grant land, is a man without money or property of any kind. Such waste lands as can be found for distribution among Mappillas will require an amount of labour and capital to make them fit for cultivation, which the miserable Mappilla, already depressed by poverty, can hardly find. Even if lands fit for immediate cultivation were found, and were made over to the needy Mappilla, he would have in the first place to provide the initial expenses, the seed, manure and labour, and then wait for six months for the harvest. We do not know if it will be seriously contended that the Mappilla who has

absolutely nothing to live upon, can afford to have the patience which will be required of him, not to speak of the absolute impossibility of his furnishing money for the expenses of cultivation. It is too unpractical to think of; and we would not have seriously referred to it, had not certain high officials of Government entertained high hopes in regard to such a scheme. Sir Auckland Colvin tried the experiment with the Sansias who have been a source of perpetual trouble to the North-West Provinces Government. He allotted lands for them to settle on and cultivate; but they have left the land to itself; and the magnificent scheme, from which Sir Auckland expected so much, has miserably collapsed. The reason for the failure is the same as we have indicated above.

While disapproving of the proposal, we are not blind to the importance of doing something really good to improve the material condition of the Mappilla. Some people have been dreaming of land legislation and such like chimerical things. We do not propose to discuss them here as, in our opinion, they cannot serve any useful purpose. Land legislation may or may not benefit certain land holding classes; but it will not benefit the pauper Mappilla whom poverty and ignorance alike make an easy prey to the tactics and deceptions of unscrupulous religious preachers, and who having nothing to lose in this world rush at the throat of the infidel in the certain hope of seeing the gates of heaven open for him. What the Mappilla wants is the means of daily subsistence for himself, his wife and children. He does not find paying occupation now unless he goes forth to commit robbery or dacoity. The question is whether the Government cannot devise some means whereby to give him daily work and wage. Hitherto it has not spent a pie towards improving his material condition although, in view to the disturbed state of the district, it is bound to do something in that direction. What we would propose is that the Government should open workshops for Mappillas in the chief Mappilla centres in the disturbed portions of the two taluks. Rare specimens of art are produced in the interior of Malabar by the artisan classes. The carpenter, the goldsmith, the blacksmith, and the brazier execute excellent works of art, which will be in requisition in different parts of India. Malabar artisans have a peculiar aptitude for manufacturing metal vessels which are very much admired in other

countries. The weaving and tile manufacturing industries which the German Missionaries have established at Calicut, not only afford work to hundreds of people, but the articles manufactured are highly prized elsewhere and largely exported. There is no reason why industrial institutions established and managed on such lines should not thrive in the Mappilla taluks, and should not, besides giving occupation to the needy, prove a paying concern to the Government itself. As we have remarked, the poor man who has absolutely nothing to eat can hardly find the wherewithal to cultivate waste land, much less can he have the patience to wait for six months for the fruits of his labour. It is absolutely useless to expect him to do any such thing. But if you give him daily work, and ensure him daily wages, according to his skill and the value of his work, you will find the Mappilla rapidly improving, liking work, and giving up his old ways. He will no longer be the wandering fanatic or dacoit who despairing of life, schemes assassination or plunder, but a peaceful, industrious being who will love his neighbour and respect his rights. The Government may in this connection also consider the expediency of resorting to legislation to prevent Mappillas who have no occupation or ostensible means of livelihood from remaining in the country if they do not choose to go to the workshops. This is one means, and perhaps the most effective, to reconcile the Mappilla to peaceful and orderly life.

It has already been shown that mischievous religious preaching is the original cause of fanatic outbreaks. Mr. Winterbotham has considered this question, and, if we remember right, has come to the conclusion that it is not possible to put restrictions on the freedom of preachers. We cannot wholly accept this view, because it does not appear to be altogether consistent with the policy of the British Government which has placed restrictions elsewhere when the interests of public peace rendered it necessary. Indeed, under ordinary circumstances the Government has to maintain a position of neutrality; but with situations such as the Mappilla creates, this neutrality has to be laid aside to a certain extent. We do not advocate any interference with the legitimate exercise of religious rights. But when one uses this as a cloak for disturbing the peace of the country, the Government *must* step in for the sake of its peaceful subjects. The habitual religious preachers who are suspected of

propagating disloyal ideas tending to disturbance of the peace should be kept under surveillance. Their movements and their utterances should be carefully watched by the village officials and the local Police, and reports submitted by them periodically.

Intimately connected with this is the question of the creation of places of public worship. Several of the outbreaks that have taken place were caused by disputes about the erection of mosques. So far back as 1852 Mr. Thomas Strange proposed that restrictions should be placed on the erection of mosques. But the Government of the day, in its wisdom, vetoed this proposal on the ground that it would be a departure from the policy of a wise and just neutrality in all matters of religion. Here again the question arises to what extent this fetish of neutrality is to be worshiped when you see the peace of a district is disturbed, when most brutal outrages are committed on men and women alike, and when even children are not spared. If the Government is anxious to observe neutrality, if it thinks that it ought not to make any difference between one religion and another, let it by all means extend the restrictions to other religions. Let Hindus, Christians, Mahomedans, and the followers of any other religions be subjected to the same restrictions. Let no temple, church or mosque be erected anywhere without the sanction of the District Magistrate. In Travancore such a law has been in force for many years, and with the recent amendment of the Penal Code, it has become a part of the criminal law of the State. Now, any one who establishes a place of public worship, without the previous sanction of the Maharajah's Government, is liable to certain pains and penalties. A similar law is essential, not only for Malabar but for the whole of British India. No man can justly complain against such a reasonable restriction, rendered necessary in the interests of peace, and no violence is done thereby to the principle of religious neutrality. If religious processions can be regulated, nay prevented, as occasions arise, if crowds at holy places can be dispersed in the interests of sanitation, and if even the pilgrimage to Mecca can be prevented as was done this time, there does not seem to be any strong reason why the comparatively harmless restriction about the creation of places of religious worship should not be enforced. If the Government refrains even now from imposing such a restriction, the trouble must increase as

time goes on. It is to be hoped that mere sentimental objections will not be allowed to over-ride the interests of peace, and the safety and protection of innocent subjects of Her Majesty.

We have indicated above how former outbreaks used to be put down by Taluk officials and villagers, how even where the well trained and well disciplined troops failed, they effectively subdued the fanatics, and how even individuals scared away the fanatic Mappillas who had been bent upon murder and arson. The fear which these circumstances inspired in the Mappilla, and which operated as a check on his fanatic and frantic inclinations, has now completely disappeared, there being none whom he need fear except the Military which cannot overtake him before he has had many days' start. It is this that now encourages the Mappilla to play havoc with the life and property of his neighbours; and it is time to devise something which will make him feel that he cannot do what he likes without some immediate risk to himself. The old martial spirit of the people having almost died out, we cannot now expect the villagers to do anything effectual. At the same time it is highly necessary that some kind of moral fear must be always present to the Mappilla so that he may not rush in with the idea that nobody can resist him. Mr. Strange proposed the organization of a special police force, exclusively composed of Hindus, to put down these risings, and deprecated the use of the European force for this purpose. We must add parenthetically that no officer of Government who has given thought to the subject, has suggested more efficient remedies than were proposed by Mr. Strange, who had spent a good deal of time in enquiring into the matter, and had a close acquaintance with the District; and it is a misfortune that some of his most valuable proposals were not accepted by the Government for sentimental reasons. Mr. Strange knew that the Mappilla found greater merit in dying in a fight with the white man, and that the resort to European troops was one way of encouraging rather than discouraging him to "go out." Apart from this, the creation of a strong police force will be the means of conveying a sort of moral fear to the Mappilla who, imprudent and thoughtless as he is and incapable of realizing the consequences of his action, can be kept under control only by the consciousness that if he rises there will be some agency to resist him forthwith. We do not,

however, revive the proposal made by Mr. Strange for a Police Force. What we would propose instead is the creation of volunteer corps, not exclusively composed of Hindus, but of all classes of people, of men who possess certain property and educational qualifications. This will shut out from it all who have nothing to lose, mere men of straw, men who would "go out" for no cause. The volunteers must be men of certain standing in society and must be selected with due regard to their character and antecedents. The existence of a corps of volunteers in the chief Mappilla centres will be a good check on the unrestrained freedom which now impels the fanatic to indulge in lawlessness for days together, until the Police and the Military arrive from Calicut or Cannanore, and sometimes even from outside the District. One objection likely to be urged against this will be that Native troops once failed to face the fanatics with steadiness and courage. But as against this we have shown that numerous outbreaks were promptly put down by Taluk peons or Villagers. It may also be born in mind that the Native Soldiers who fled from the fanatics were not natives of Malabar. The creation of volunteer corps, it may be added, is not proposed as a substitute for a European Regiment, but merely as an important auxiliary to the fighting and protective force of the District, to be kept in evidence so as to bring home to the troublesome Mappilla the danger of rising, as he does now, under the idea that nobody would disturb him for a time.

In conclusion we have only one more suggestion to make ; and that is with reference to the administrative arrangement now existing. The Taluks of Ernad and Walluvanad are, at present, under a special Assistant Collector who is invariably a very young man with very little experience of the country and the people. A gentleman whose opinion in a matter of this sort is entitled to great weight, has proposed that these two Taluks should be constituted into a Sub-Collector's Division and that the Sub-Collector at Tellicherry should be posted to Malapuram. The advantage of such a change is that the disturbed taluks will have the supervision of a comparatively senior and experienced officer, while the Taluks of Chirakkal and Kottayam, which give no trouble, may form the special Assistant's Division, Kurumbranad being made, if necessary, a part of the Calicut Sub-division.

C. KARUNAKARA MENON.

PRISON LIFE IN MADRAS.

INTRODUCTION.

OCCASIONALLY, one sees in the columns of the daily newspaper some article or other purporting to give a general idea of some establishment showing how the work is done. At one time it is the General Hospital, at another time, it is something else. In this article, I propose to give a short sketch, with a few observations, of the premier prison in this Presidency—Her Majesty's Penitentiary—which will *mutatis mutandis* apply to the other jails.

APPROPRIATENESS OF THE SUBJECT IN THIS SEASON.

There is also a certain appropriateness in the treatment of this subject at a time like the present, when the anniversary of the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign is engaging the attention of all the loyal subjects throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire. Such rare times are also marked by the release of a large number of prisoners. Where there is hustle and bustle in the free world, there is the same sort of atmosphere prevailing in the convict world too. Such opportunities were present in 1877, 1887 and now (1897) when the Diamond Jubilee is to be commemorated.

JAIL PREMISES AND ITS INMATES.

H. M. Penitentiary occupies a conspicuous position in Madras within the angle of the two arms of the Cooum. It is as old as the Indian Mutiny. From its appearance, it is a small structure very much cramped, but contains on an average more than 800 prisoners all told every day. These convicts are very carefully guarded by a number of warders and jailors and over these stands the superintendent. The fact that there has been no escape for the last half-a-dozen years in this jail, reflects the highest credit on the vigilance of the subordinate staff, when one compares it with what one hears almost every month, of some escape at Hyderabad, or an escape at Colombo and sometimes at another place.

CLASSIFICATION OF PRISONERS.

Now, let us see as to how many varieties of persons compose the jail population—persons sentenced to rigorous and those sentenced to simple imprisonment, remand prisoners (*i. e.*) those

whose cases have not been finally disposed of, either by conviction or acquittal and under-trial prisoners *i.e.*, those who have been committed to the sessions, pending the decision of the Court. A few lunatics not of a very serious nature are also here and a few lifers that are to be deported to the penal settlement. The terms 'rigorous' and 'simple' correspond to the English 'hard labour' and 'simple labour.' Digging, composing etc., are examples of hard labour, paper counting, ruling etc., are examples of simple labour.

REMISSION AND TO WHOM DOES IT APPLY ?

Though the prisoners as indicated above form a heterogeneous kind, yet the treatment is homogeneous, no undue severity is shown to any, if each behaves himself well and does his allotted task of work. Of the different classes of prisoners of whom mention is made, only those that are convicted by courts are taken into consideration here. It is not all that are entitled to the benefit of the remission of their sentences. It is those that have to do a year or more of incarceration. The remission system has its basis in the humane instincts of man. It is to the intelligent convict an inducement for hard work and early release. Prisoners are, therefore, classified, broadly speaking, into two classes—District and Central Jail prisoners. The former are those who have to undergo imprisonment for *less than a year*; and the latter a year and more than a year. From the nature of its application it is only an incident of rigorous imprisonment, unless the prisoner wishes to change the less onerous to the more burdensome.

WHAT IS REMISSION ?

What then is remission and how does it affect sentences? Remission means the sending back earlier than one is entitled to, or, in other words, giving liberty to the prisoner to go earlier than the time when he ought in the ordinary course of time to be released. The way in which it is worked is in this wise. But before setting out that method, it may not be out of place to say in general terms, as to the ways in which the prisoners are employed. Many of them are employed in the Press as Compositors &c., in the chucklers' shop, as tapeweavers, rope makers etc., etc. Now the prisoners so variously occupied, earn, generally speaking, a mark a day for good behaviour and another for good work. But these marks are liable to be lost by fine or forfeiture if they do mischief within the

prison. Among the convicts themselves there are various grades with certain privileges attached to each. A convict is entitled to marks, from the beginning of the month following his admission. For example, a man is convicted say on the 5th March, he will be eligible for marks from the 1st April. Such an interval is called the period of probation. Such a prisoner is at once placed in the 3rd class. From that he has to rise to the 2nd after getting a certain number of marks and then to the First. Above these are maistries, overseers and warder guards—the highest to which one can aspire.

Those marks so accumulated are quarterly converted by dividing them by 24 into days. The maximum amount of remission then, which a person sentenced to a year can accumulate is about a month and he will be set at liberty after eleven months' stay; and a person sentenced to, say, 7 years may sometimes be released after the lapse of $6\frac{1}{4}$ years or 6 years by the additional special marks for good work and good behaviour.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS AND THE METHODS OF RECLAIMING THEM.

The prison population is also composed of very many juveniles. Juveniles all the world over, are generally naughty; whether at home, or at school, or at a meeting they are a troublesome set of people. Even in the jail premises they attract a good deal of attention of the authorities concerned. Of late, their question has been a burning one. Let us consider the reasons why it has stirred so much.

The fact of the matter is that these juveniles (always an appreciable number) are made to work with adult prisoners and sometimes amongst very bad characters. Association with such persons cannot but impair materially their morals and in course of time make them habituals. It is with a desire to obviate those mischievous consequences that juvenile offenders are sent to the Reformatory School at Chingleput where they are taught, till they come of age, some useful handicraft. But the room at the Reformatory being too limited, a large influx of these juveniles is left to wait till room is available. As an instance, I may say that during a whole year not more than a dozen boys were transferred to the School from the Madras prison. This is but a fraction of those that are generally committed to jail. Further, it is only the males

that can find entrance into the Reformatory. There is no corresponding female branch in the Reformatory: and the consequence is that all female juveniles have to be cared for only in the prison. To quote the words of a non-official gentleman who has striven hard to better their condition, Mr. Henry K. Beauchamp, written so far back as July 1894, "there is one very little girl in the female block. The proper place for her would be a reformatory. She must become more depraved by daily intercourse with the older females. She is a very fit subject for reformatory, too, as she is already labelled 'Habitual' although only about 12 years old." Again he writes, "there was one very small boy with an intelligent and honest looking face whom the committing magistrate would have done better to flog than to imprison for a couple of months." The necessity, therefore, of widening the usefulness of the Reformatory is a matter for very early consideration. It is no wonder then that sometimes one hears remarking, "there are four boys fit subjects for the Reformatory School, especially one little fellow with three previous convictions, but it is said there is no room at Chingleput." The necessity for the opening of a female side of the Reformatory School seems to be called for, if one understands the evil influence (however carefully guarded) that is brought to bear upon the younger by the older associates in crime. Again, the gentleman referred to above says "the presence of four small girls in the female jail (two of them *habituals*) proves how necessary a reformatory for girls is. The matter of a third is also an inmate of the jail and an *habitual* so the girl herself will no doubt soon become an habitual." To show that these remarks are not merely sentimental platitudes, I may cite an instance of an old woman who seduced many an honest looking girl who for some mischief or other was confined in the jail. There was an old woman, a few years ago, who was always convicted for drunken and disorderly behaviour, the maximum punishment for which being one month. That old woman had been in jail times without number for the same offence and had the hardihood to say to the committing magistrate face to face, that she would stand again before him after the lapse of that month. Such a dissolute character was she, that when she entered the jail she used her evil influence and seduced the girls to their sad fate. She would somehow or other know the particular date

when a girl will be released from the jail and would lie in ambush to catch hold of her prey. The sentence for habitual drunkenness not being deterrent, or that there was no severe method of dealing with her that she would come into the jail as often as she liked for the same offence and thus be a nemesis to many a poor girl. "The foolish sentences (on persons habitually drunken and profligate) of a few days or weeks, repeated scores of times, also help to make such persons hardened. It is precisely because they are not sent to prison, or to other place of detention long enough either for deterrence or reformation or any alteration of habits that they become habituals."

Now, if there had been a branch of the Reformatory School for these girls, the mischief would have been, to a great extent, mitigated. This fact was discussed in the Imperial Legislative Council, when the new Reformatory Act was passed. The *Madras Mail* in its leader on the subject, of the 22nd March 1897, says, "There were two crucial questions raised, and on each of them Sir John Woodburn's attitude can hardly be described as correct. The first was the important question whether the new Act ought not to be made applicable to girls. The Report of the select committee, for which the member in charge of the Bill may fairly be presumed to have been responsible, had stated that the Madras Government stood alone in recommending the establishment of reformatory schools for girl criminals. As the Hon'ble Mr. Rees pointed out, this statement was incorrect. The Madras Government had not recommended the establishment of a female reformatory, but merely a provision in the Bill of power to establish such a reformatory, on cause shown. In this view it did not stand alone, for the Government of North-West-Provinces agreed with it." It is something to see that the two Governments have at least seen the necessity for such a school. "But both the report and the speech of the Hon'ble Member who presented it, laid stress on the supposed objections of keeping girls in a reformatory which might arise out of Hindu and Mahammadan habits." "It really is time that the Government of India ceased being frightened by this childish baggage of native customs." Unfortunately, one more endeavour to establish a reformatory school for girls has been frustrated,

"The omission of any provision for girl criminals is a great blot on the new Act; and it now remains for the Madras Government by local legislation to supply a remedy so far as this Presidency is concerned." It is hoped, therefore, that as the Jail Code is now being revised, provision will be made in that for girl criminals also. The usefulness of Sec. 31 of the New Reformatory Act cannot be overrated. "That section," to quote the article "enables the court instead of sending a juvenile, whether boy or girl, to jail, or to reformatory (in the case of boy), to discharge the juvenile or to make the juvenile over to its parents or guardians, they executing a bond for the juvenile's good behaviour. This is a very useful and beneficial provision; and, if freely worked, it ought to prevent the frequent occurrence of cases in which boys and girls are committed to jail for petty first offences." Had the original provision in that Bill that boys unable to procure security for subsequent good conduct might be sent to the reformatory, remained intact, it would have conferred a very great advantage on the after-career of the boys. But it was omitted in the committee. The consequence of that will possibly be that such juveniles will be associated with K. D's and others of that ilk with little betterment.

PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY AND YOUTHFUL CRIMINALS.

A practical instance of the above may be cited. In the last century, a boy by name John Scot was charged with trespassing and stealing a few apples. The magistrate instead of punishing him, ordered his father to make restitution to the injured party. This was done; but the elder Scot took much better care of him in future and the lad ultimately became Lord Chancellor Eldon. I bring this to show what can be done in a particular case. A vast amount of juvenile crime would be effectually and cheaply prevented if the responsibility in all possible cases, of many of the parents were more strictly enforced.

THE HEALTH OF THE JAIL POPULATION.

I come now to an important point. Considering the locality of the Jail in Madras, with the Cooum in front and on the south of it with its stink sometimes, it is highly satisfactory to find that the health of the convicts has been uniformly good. The fact that there were only ten deaths during the 366 days is an indisputable fact that the health of the convicts within, is much better off than

that of the freer population outside of it. These deaths when closely scrutinized will be found to be due mainly to natural causes.

Let us see as to the diet. We find that notwithstanding the tasks, the convicts are well off. It is an interesting and curious fact but still it is a notable fact that the convicts are better cared for than the rest of the free population in famine times. It is true that tasks are exacted of them and punishments more severe and more lasting are not unfrequently meted out, still they are in a good condition. To substantiate my statement, I may say that out of a number in more than 2000 that were released from time to time in the course of a year, there were only 27 persons out of a hundred who have lost weight. This fact shows that many persons that enter the precincts of the Jail in an emaciated condition come out of it with an increase in weight. Once in a fortnight, each prisoner is weighed and any striking difference in weight when compared with the weighment statement of the previous fortnight is investigated. It will thus be noticed, how solicitous are the authorities for the well-being of the transgressors. Some have gone further and stated that the treatment accorded to convicts is better than that shown to the famished in times of scarcity. The difference lies in the fact that in the one case he has forfeited his liberty and in the other he has that priceless one. Some are not mindful of that freedom and prefer incarceration in times of famine. This is borne out by the fact that "Hunger drives men to crime." A statement is published in the *Madras Times* of the 22nd April 1897, of the number of prisoners in the affected districts. It shows "how the Jail population of the Presidency increased or decreased pretty regularly according as the price of provisions ruled high or low." The following is a "statement of the number of convicts and under-trial prisoners admitted into the Presidency Jails in the districts where famine prevails":—

| DISTRICT. | NOVEMBER. | | DECEMBER. | |
|--------------------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| | Average. | 1896 | Average. | 1896 |
| Ganjam | 153 | 114 | 142 | 127 |
| Vizagapatam | 170 | 274 | 160 | 285 |
| Kurnul | 102 | 251 | 76 | 174 |
| Bellary | 149 | 199 | 185 | 261 |
| Anantapur | 27 | 64 | 33 | 62 |
| Cuddapah | 108 | 292 | 118 | 194 |

"In all other districts," than Ganjam "the increase will be seen to be most marked, and the theory that crime may in a very large measure be the result of distress is justified." Though the increase is very marked in the months of November and December last, yet recently the members in jail have remained normally owing to the passing of certain humane orders with regard to famine matters. The consequence of such has been the overflow of men on relief works. With the additional efforts of the Famine Charitable Relief Committee the condition of the famished has been bettered and the increase in jail population has been, materially arrested.

OLD OFFENDERS—AND WHAT IT SHOWS.

Let us now turn to a more interesting side of the question which does not seem to merit much attention. Taking Madras prison for our illustration, even in ordinary times, the fact that there are something like 370 prisoners who have been identified before or after conviction during a year, shows that something is necessary to be done in that direction. To many of them liberty is at a discount; they think it better to be inside than to be outside of the jail.

It is indeed a matter of concern to find that so many as 370 convicts who were twice or more in a jail. An exhaustive inquiry into the causes of such a large number of old offenders in a single jail would be a matter of interest. As far as I think I assign these causes. Many of these twice or more convicted offenders are either unable to eke out their livelihood in the freer world, or that they do not care for an honest living, or that they think that their name (to whom it is at a zero) will not be contaminated by a sojourn in the jail, or, perhaps, that they think that their nefarious trade, is a more profitable one than the bread won by the sweat of their brow. Sometimes, it may be that some of the old offenders or habituals find it difficult to get an honest living anywhere, because the stigma that they had been once in jail, goes against them in the struggle for existence. They are thus forced to pursue their wonted course. Again, some of these after being once convicted, begin to turn over a new leaf and try to lead honest lives, but they are not left to themselves. The police have an eye over these K. D's (known depradators) and any mischief that is perpetrated in or near

the vicinity where these live, is fathered upon them and thus they are obliged to face the jail again. If the generality of Magistrates instead of giving too ready an ear to the evidence adduced by the Police and without undervaluing the evidence of the convict himself, simply because he is a person who had been previously sentenced, were to call for evidence of his post-convict life and ascertain from reliable witnesses as to his character, honesty and general good behaviour and thereafter if they were to convict the accused satisfying themselves that there is sufficient direct or other evidence to convict, such a magistrate would be a check to the flow of once convicted prisoners. Such a procedure is not uncommon now. But a little more care on that side is all that is needed at present. Further, the police terrorise the convict by telling him to admit his guilt by stating that if he were to deny he would be committed to the sessions where he would be dealt with severely. When once the fact is so stated, the timid of them choose the lesser of the two evils. As a matter of fact, if a person had been previously convicted whether rightly or wrongly and however honestly he might have led his life and whatever evidence he might be prepared to adduce to show his innocence, the fact that he is a K. D. stands out in all its glory and drowns himself and whatever he might plead. It is highly desirable, therefore, to make some provision for post convict life of those that are willing to reform in industrial workshops or any friend-in-need society like the one that is now in existence for the Eurasian Community. Such societies are a misnomer so far as the Hindus are concerned. Unless something of the nature indicated above, is established by the community itself to reclaim these breakers of the law, these would ever be steeped in crime. Dr. Smiles says in his book on "Duty" chapter XI page 309, "one of the greatest difficulties that a criminal has to encounter, is in getting employment after fulfilling his term of imprisonment. He is willing to work and determined to be honest. But the policeman knows his whereabouts, and gives information against him. He is immediately turned off, and forced back upon his old habits. Thus it becomes almost impossible for a quondam prisoner to return to honesty." Then the learned Doctor goes on to give in the pages that follow (310-320) practical instances as to how these convicts may be reclaimed. The example

of Thomas Wright, the philanthropist of Manchester and the true friend of forlorn prisoners is a very striking one.

SANITATION.

Let me now turn from the theoretical to the practical side. The sanitation and the conservancy arrangements of the jail are all that could be desired. In the report of the Howard Association for 1896, we find "in Madras the Sanitary arrangements are in advance of those in Bengal, judging by the comparative jail mortality." This is a very high compliment indeed coming from such a quarter. A good deal of credit is due to the Superintendent and his subordinates for the great care they take about the sanitary and other arrangements. The Madras prison is a neat object lesson of cleanliness and tidiness. A casual visit at any time of the day with the permission of the Superintendent, will show that the above facts are not exaggerated.

THE SUPERINTENDENT—D. A. MCCREADY ESQR.

The present Superintendent of the prison under consideration, has been in charge of it for very many years; and we cannot imagine a more genial, a more unassuming, a god-fearing but yet a more useful being than D. A. McCready Esquire. An hour's conversation with him will reveal the nature of the man. As his work is essentially confined within the four walls of the prison, it is seldom or never that we hear of him in the public press. He has introduced many salutary changes in sundry places and he has been twice or thrice thanked by the Government itself for the prompt measures he took with regard to the prisoners when an epidemic of cholera occurred in jail a few years ago. His treatment of the prisoners and his infliction of the various kinds of punishments which the Jail Code provides, from solitary confinement to gunny clothing do not lean either on undue severity or under leniency but are rather tempered by justice. As a non-official visitor once remarked, the prisoners were given such of the privileges as the Jail Code allowed.

A word or two about the subordinate staff. It is not too much to say that the whole establishment works so harmoniously and so smoothly like a clock-work that friction has not been felt anytime. The earnestness with which the staff works has been noticed very often by the Inspector-General of Prisons in his annual visits. The fact that while the rest of the jails in the Presidency are visited

by the Inspector General of Prisons once in a year, and the Madras Penitentiary twice a year—shows how much care is taken by the I. G. himself with regard to this premier jail.

THE JAIL ESTABLISHMENT.

Her Majesty's Penitentiary is not unlike other prisons ; but there are a few features peculiar to this. It may safely be affirmed that Her Majesty's Penitentiary is a composite one. A few are, the transfer of lifers to the Penal settlement ; the supply of stationery to the other jails. This increases the burden of the clerical staff. With the minimum limit of clerical establishment with the maximum amount of correspondence, with the ever-increasing monthly and fortnightly returns to be sent within a specified date, together with matters of a routine character disturbed now and then by visits from men in high life, it can be said that it is "all work and no holiday" to parody a common saying. In Madras and at a few other places a little consideration is shown for Sunday but in the moffusil jails that is not the case generally as far as I can learn. It is no wonder to see or hear men say that the clerical staff works from 7 a. m. till 7. p. m. all days equally, like the executive staff. On the other hand, the convicts work for less number of hours. Holidays are rare. With the additional work above mentioned a similar state of things is not uncommon here. The executive and the clerical are no doubt quite distinct, but still these two overlap each other and intersect at many points, hence the result. A clear definition and distinction of the functions of both the organisations should be enunciated for better working. A new feature was added so early as January that the clerical staff or assistant Jailors as they are called, should perform some of the executive duties such as coming on rounds during night once a week or fortnight. But this rule was rescinded in the case of Madras, happily, as the warder establishment is sufficiently strong to guard the prison. A disposition of the duties or an addition to the clerical establishment is necessary in Madras as in other parts. It is one of the fundamental canons of the Jail Code that no convict should be given clerical work. This rule is most faithfully carried out in all jails.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE CONDITION
OF PRISONERS.*1. The question of Habituals.*

A more effective method should be resorted to with regard to habituals, than the one that is now in vogue of having them separated from other prisoners at night, locked up in separate wards and allowing them to work together with other convicts. I think it would be much better to adopt the course pursued by one of the prison governors in Minnesota U. S. He says "I prefer the separate confinement of prisoners for several reasons. First, it lessens the chances of escape. Secondly, the prisoners are much more easily controlled; and lastly, which I consider of more importance than all the rest, the worst elements do not have the chance to influence the others which they do have when they are all allowed to mingle together." Some one says, "it does away with quarrels, which always occur when prisoners are together. I do not think it injurious to health, as the prisoners when in the corridor can exercise enough. They are cleaner and can be kept so without as much trouble as before." Another says "In our jail the bad ones amongst the prisoners are generally the leaders. They are always concocting some bad scheme. Keep them apart when possible." Another superintendent writes, "the good results obtained by separation are far more than commensurate with the pains and labour bestowed." The Inspector-General of Prisons of the Panjab wisely remarks, "imprisonment under the association system has, I fear, little deterrent effect on the habitual criminal, and little or no repressive influence on crime."

2. The question of juveniles.

With regard to the above, endeavour should be made by courts so far as is possible to throw their responsibility upon the guardians and parents. They would be better cared for. Steps should be taken to prevent their coming into jail by undertaking some one to stand surety for good behaviour, or in its absence they should be sent to the Reformatory. In the case of juveniles who have been convicted twice or thrice, recourse must be had to the Reformatory School. For this end the accommodation of the school must be enlarged. The necessity for a female juvenile ward of the Reformatory, has been already made out. Mr. Henry K. Beauchamp

writes to the Howard association thus: "In the one jail of which I am official visitor, there are usually from 6 to 12 girls; and the number of "habituals" amongst them is shocking, showing, as it does, the evil of confining them with adult prostitutes and thieves." He adds all that is really necessary is an enabling clause or two to amend the existing acts, giving Indian Local Governments power to segregate girl criminals whenever such is deemed possible and feasible. It is hoped that the local Government will see fit to move in the matter.

3. Substitution of Fines.

"Any form of imprisonment," to quote the Report, "is at least an evil." Hence the substitution of fines as a useful penalty in many cases should be aimed at. This system is not accompanied by the disadvantages of the jail. A needed introduction is to allow the fines to be paid by instalments. Where necessary opportunity should be given to pay the fine in instalments and restitution of property should be made in default of payment of fine, rather than by so many days imprisonment; that course should be pursued when all other resources fail. Justinian, fourteen centuries ago, had a far better conception of theft by imposing twice and four times the value of the thing stolen on the culprit. "Criminals are magisterially manufactured for such offences as picking a few mushrooms or for other petty delinquencies." If methods similar to the above were to be observed the number of petty first offenders who now are sent to the jail would be reduced.

4. The Convicts in the Press.

The press in the Penitentiary draws all the intelligent convicts from the other jails. Those that can read and write are put on the Press as compositors etc. A good deal of work is turned out by convict labour. There were during the whole of the year 1896, more than 230 convicts employed out of a daily average of more than 800. The press, as a general rule, does not require a good deal of education. As a matter of fact, long term prisoners are made to learn a smattering of English and then transferred to the press. Of the prisoners so employed there are a few fairly educated men and as a rough calculation about 15 or 20 per cent. of the 230 and odd convicts will be found to possess a fair knowledge of English. Instead of employing such men on the work of composing,

would it not be better, I suggest to employ them on a more useful kind of work such as indexing or other intellectual work? Many of these convicts, I believe, can write a fairly good hand if opportunity is given. By doing so a good deal of work might be turned out with their heads and hands. Here are many opportunities of mistakes and the work itself a disgusting one. Any mistakes committed can be visited with the forfeiture of marks—a very effective means in the case of such men.

5. Jail manufactures.

Jail articles are very high when compared with those that are sold usually in the market. It is true that jail articles should not compete with free labour. But articles may be sold with ten or fifteen per cent. profit. A gentleman remarked once, "I regret to find some of the furniture are priced more than what the same articles could be got for at other places. In order to encourage sales, it is desirable that only a reasonable profit should be charged, I think ten per cent. will be very reasonable." In that case there would be an appreciable sale of articles manufactured in jail, a profitable concern to the prison. As a matter of fact the Madras Penitentiary is a profitable one unlike many other jails. But the question of profit will have to be subordinated to the diminution of jail population.

6. Habitual female offenders.

All male prisoners of more than 21 days' incarceration have their heads clean shaved. Such a course is not adopted with regard to females. It is hoped that as a tentative measure at least, the same procedure may be pursued in the case of habitual female offenders as a deterrent. Such an extreme step should be worked cautiously and on the very highly advanced states of criminality to see whether such a course has any effect on the habituals. Such typical cases would seldom appear. But a provision to that effect in the code under revision, may not be an unwelcome one in cases of necessity.

P. CHINNASWAMI.

WOMEN IN ANCIENT INDIA.

IN the Vedic times the social position of women was very high. It is said in the Mahābharata (1) that, "women were not immersed within houses; they used to go about freely as best liked them." They attended the sacrifices with their husbands. (2) They were at liberty to drive abroad and were present at public feasts and games. (3) We know that a mother and her daughter were present at a sacrifice conducted by the opulent Rathavithi. (4) But as the vices of civilization increased, Aryan high-born maids and matrons were gradually doomed to a life of seclusion. They bided at home where they had their duties, their occupations and their pleasures which gave them the interest they needed. But it was common for them to stir out in times of festivities. "Why are not all the citizens abroad and merry-making with their wives?" says Chandragupta in Mudrārākshasa. (5)

The restraints placed on royal maidens and ladies seem to have been very great. Pānini (6) uses the term '*Asūryampasyā*'—one not seeing the sun—to denote a royal lady, because she, being shut up in her harem, had no opportunity of seeing the sun. Even at home, royal ladies lived in their own private apartments called '*Avarōdhas*'—guarded places—apart from the quarters frequented by the males. Certain unavoidable circumstances there were when royal females might appear in public. After the war with Rāvana was over, when Sitā, "whom the very rangers of sky had not seen before" (7) was brought before the public, Rāma says, "there is no sin consequent on seeing women in danger, difficulty, war, Swayamvara and marriage" (8) Draupadī, when brought before the Sabhā, said, "I, who appeared before the public only at my Swayamvara and was not seen before or after even by the god of wind is now brought before this assembly." The social restraints to which females were subjected operated to such an extent as to preclude them from

(1.) Adi Parva Sec. 122.

(3.) Rig Veda I. 116. 17 & I. 167. 5 & 6.

(5.) Act III.

(7.) Rāmāyana Ayodhyā Kanda Sec. 33.

(2.) Rig Veda I. 28. 3.

(4.) Rig Veda. V. 61.

(6.) Ashtādhyāyī III. 2. 36.

(8.) Rāmāyana Yuddha Kanda Sec. 116.

taking any part in society. This was more particularly the case with unmarried women. We learn from the dramas that Sakuntalā, Ratnāvali and other heroines could, with great difficulty, be prevailed upon to address the objects of their affection. They answer every question by proxy as it was part of a virtuous breeding for virgins to decline conversation with men and they would have violated decorum if they had ventured to reply. When Sakuntalā asks Kanwa to send her two female friends with her to the City, he says "They are yet unmarried; it is not proper for them to go into the city with you." (10) No such severe restraints were imposed upon married women. We find in the dramas that the queens frequently and unreservedly enter into conversation with the friends of their lords (11) and even with strangers. When modest women had to appear in public, they seem to have been well veiled. Sakuntalā was veiled when she appeared in Dushyanta's Court. (12)

STATE OF DEPENDENCE OF FEMALES.

In the Vedic period women had as much liberty as men. "In those days, they were not dependent on husbands and other relations." (13) On the occasion of the marriage ceremonies, a wish was expressed in the bride's favour that she may be a queen over her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's sisters and brothers. (14) The Vedic formulae addressed by the bride-groom in the marriage ceremony seem to preclude the idea of a subordinate position of wives. He says "as in the word *Sāma*, the parts, *Sā* and *ama* are mutually connected, so are we, I am *Ama*, thou art *Sā*." (15) Again in the *Saptapadi* rite, he is made to say to his wife "Become the partner of my food, drinking, cattle, wealth, health and be my companion and friend." (16) From this *Saptapadi* rite we have the word *Sāptapadinam* which means 'intimate friendship.' But latterly women came to be reduced to a state of dependence. Perhaps they were inclined to be too independent in men's estimation and they wanted to restrain and domineer over them. Manu, as in the Ancient Roman Law, institutes "the perpetual tutelage of women." He says, "In childhood must a female be dependent

(10.) Sākuntala Act IV.

Balaramayana Act IV. and Vatsyayana's Kamasutras XXI. 35.

(12.) Sākuntala Act V.

(14.) Rig Veda X. 85. 46.

(16.) Hiranyakēsi Grihya Sutra I. 6. 21. 2.

(11.) Vide Advice to Sitā in Rajasekhara's

(13.) Mahabharata, Adi Parva Sec. 122.

(15.) Aitareya Brahmana iii. 2. 23.

na Grihya Sutra I. 14. 6.

on her father, in youth on her husband, her lord being dead on her sons, if she has no sons on the near kinsmen of her husband, if he left no kinsmen and on her fathers relations and in default of any relation on the sovereign; a woman must never seek independence." (17)

In the Rāmāyana, Kausalyā, after the exile of Rama, addresses Dasaratha; "one of the refuges of a woman is her husband, a second is her son, a third is her relations and a fourth she has none; but you, my husband, cease to be my protector, since you are yourself dependent: my son has been sent to the woods and I cannot follow him since you my husband are here and my relatives are far away; so I am with no protector and am entirely undone." (18) Yudhisthira had so much authority over his wife as to stake her in a game of dice. In the Sakuntala, Sārādwatā, a disciple of Kanwa addresses Dushyanta, "Sakuntalā is your wife, either take her or abandon her, for (19) authority over wives is said to be unlimited." Morality, so often inculcated in the Hindu Sastras, is the abiding principle governing the dominion of men over women. Manu says that "women must, above all, be restrained from illicit gratification, for, not being thus restrained, she brings sorrow and infamy on both the families; so, day and night must a woman be held under lawful restrictions." (20) Manu even gives men power to punish wives when they go wrong with a rope or the small shoot of a cane. (21)

WOMEN AND THE HOUSEHOLD.

I shall describe here what duties a woman had to attend to as the matron of a household. It is at home, in the performance of her quiet duties that a woman appears at her best. The bodily and the mental constitutions of the sexes are happily adapted to the different provinces allotted to them in life. The man 'formed for valour' is fit for out-door exploits while the weak sex (*abālā*) with her "softness and sweet attractive grace" (22) has been entrusted with the management of the household and the "childward care" from the very early times. We have Vedic texts alluding to careful

(17.) Manu V. 147. 148 and IX. 3. cf. Yagnavalkya I. 85 and Mahabharata Anusasana Parva Sec. 46. verse 14.

(18.) Ramayana Ayodhya Kanda Sec. 61. (19.) Sakuntala Act V.

(20.) Manu IX. 2, 5, 6.

(21.) Manu viii. 299.

(22.) Mahabharata Anusasana Parva Sec. 12. verse 14.

wives superintending the arrangements of the house, sending every one in the house to his or her work in the morning. (23) We read of women weaving garments, (24) working at the pestle and mortar, (25) and women engaged in needlework. (26) "A woman must always live with a cheerful temper," says Manu, "with good management of the affairs of the house, with great care of the household furniture and with frugal hand in all her expenses. . . . Let the husband employ his wife in the collection and expenditure of wealth and the superintendence of household utensils." (27) Draupadi, in explaining to Satyabhāma how she was able to keep her husbands' affections, says, "I always keep the house and all the household utensils very clean and in good order. Carefully do I preserve the rice and serve food at the proper time. Whatever my husbands eat not, whatever my husbands drink not, I carefully avoid. . . . I knew everything of what the maid-servants and other attendants, the cowherds and the shepherds of the royal establishment did or did not. . . . It was I who looked after the elephants and horses and heard all complaints about them. . . . I looked after the income and the expenditure of the king and it was I who superintended their vast treasury." That women did not 'fail in the childward care' is clear from what Manu says that 'the production of children and the nurture of them when produced are peculiar to the wife.' (29)

In the prelude to the dramas of *Mudrarakshasa* and *Mrichchhakatika* we have allusion to women's "fetching water, grinding, sighing over a pestle and working in the kitchen." (30) To give an insight into the other functions of an Aryan woman, I shall here give a translation of a few of the aphorisms of Vātsyayana (31) bearing on the subject.

"Let her keep her house very clean, the floor well swept and adorned with flowers." . . . "In the matter of meals let a wife see

(23.) Rig Veda I. 48. 5 and 6 and I. 124. 4. (24.) Rig Veda II. 3. 6. II. 38. 4. X. 130. (25.) X. 28. 3.

(26.) Manu V. 150. IX. 11. cf. Yagnavalkya I. 83.

(27.) Manu IX 27. cf. Mahabharata Anusasana Parva Sec. 46 verse 11. Compare, with the above account of a Hindu matron, the account given in Becker's *Charities* (p. 491) of Greek matrons.

"Next to the care of her children, she had the superintendence of all the moveable effects in the house, the furniture and the utensils, the cloths and stores. . . . One of the chief duties of the wife consisted in the superintendence of the slaves and the assignment of their domestic duties."

(30.) See the prologues to *Mudrarakshasa* and *Mrichchhakatika*.

(31.) Vātsyayana's *Kamasutras* Sec. 21 on Hindu Wives.

what meals are liked by the husband and what not, what wholesome and what unwholesome." "Let her secretly advise her husband against putting himself to too much or unnecessary expense." 'The kitchen should be kept very clean and protected.' "Let her get, for the household, necessary things such as mud vessels, baskets, wooden vessels, leathern vessels and metal vessels whenever they are cheap." . . . Let her have the following rare articles well hidden and protected—salt, oil, perfumes, medicines and pickles. . . "Let her get the seeds of various plants and sow in proper time. Let her first estimate the probable amount of her husband's annual income and spend accordingly. If there be more milk after use let her make ghee out of it. In the same way, let her make proper use of oil and sugar that may remain after meals. . . . Let her spin and weave. Let her carefully watch when the paddy is husked or when rice is pounded. Let her make proper use of rice-water, scum of boiled rice, the chaff and the rice-pollen and the charcoal. Let her keep accounts of wages given to servants. Let her daily close accounts, let her keep carefully the torn cloths of her husband and present them when opportunity occurs to the servants or beggars or use them for wicks of lamps or otherwise" (32) and so on. Some of these directions of Vatsyayana have been well utilised by Dandin in his *Dasakumaracharita*. (33)

AMUSEMENTS OF WOMEN.

Let me next describe how the Aryan women spent their lighter hours in ancient days. Music and dancing have been their chief accomplishments from the very early times. Ushas, in the *Rig Veda*, is described as putting on a brodered attire like a female dancer and singing a song like a woman active in that task. (34)

We know that Arjuna, as a eunuch, taught music, vocal and instrumental, besides dancing to the daughter of the king of Virata. (35) We have, also, in the *Mahabharata*, an account of a jolly party where some females danced, some played on Vina and others on Mridanga. (36) *Rasakrida* shews the fondness of ancient Hindu women for dancing. (37) In the dramas we hear of music saloons attached to the palaces of kings. In the *Nagananda*, *Malayavati*,

(32.) Vatsyana's *Kama Sutas*. Sec. 21. Sutas 3 to 35.

(33.) Dandin's *Dasakumaracharita*. 6th *Nechvasa*. Tale of Gominī.

(34.) *Rig Veda* I. 92. 3 & 4.

(35.) *Mahabharata*, Virata Parva.

(36.) *Mahabharata* Adi Parva Sec. 224. (37.) Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* Song 3.

the heroine is singing a tune and playing on her Vina before the Goddess. In the inter-drama in Priyadarsika the heroine is engaged in a dancing entertainment. The wife of the Yaksha, in Meghaduta (38) is devoting her time to Vina in her lord's absence.

Portrait-Drawing was another female accomplishment. Ratnavali, Malati and Vasantasena, the heroines of the dramas of Sri Harsha, Bhavabhuti and Sudraka, drew portraits of their lovers. Ratnavali's friend Susamgata drew the likeness of Sagarika. In the Vishnupurana it is said that Chetralekha, the friend of Usha, drew the likeness of all the gods and kings. Seeing the ornaments presented by the Sylvan deities, Anasuya, in Sakuntala, says, "though we are ourselves unused to ornaments like these, we shall put them on Sakuntala's body, knowing their proper places by our acquaintance with the art of picture-writing." Another amusement may be mentioned—*swinging*. Dharini, in Malavikagnimitra, had her ankle sprained while rocking in a swing. In Viddhasalabhangika, some of the fair tenants of the harem amused themselves in swinging. In the same drama, we find a reference to Kandukakrida or ball-play. We see, in Dasakumaracharita, how Kandukavati played at balls in accordance with the rules laid down in Kandukatantira. (39)

Hindu ladies of old seem to have spent much of their spare time in their gardens. Every house had its own garden, (40) for the inmates to engage in small talk. Sakuntala and her friends grew and watered the plants. The wife of the Yaksha, in Meghaduta, used to sit in her garden and think of her absent lord. Vasantasena, in the drama of 'Toy-cart,' was found by Maitreya in her magnificent garden. Gathering of flowers and making of garlands were also favourite occupations with the Hindu ladies of old. Anasuya and Priyemvada gather flowers for the sacred offering. Sagarika, in Ratnavali, gathers flowers for the worship of Ananga. Malati made garlands of flowers. In Virata's Court Droupadi says, "I know how to make garlands of flowers and braids of hair." Garden-parties were very common. We have allusion, in the Ramayana, to pleasure-seeking females going with their husbands to distant gardens. (41) Vasantasena, in Mrichhakatika, goes to

(38.) Meghaduta II. 25.

(40.) Vatsyayana Sec. 4. Sutra 3.

(39.) Dasakumaracharita 6th Nechvasa.

(41.) Ramayana Ayodhya Kanda Sec. 67.

meet her beloved in a garden outside the town. That Jalakrida was another of their pastimes goes without saying. Drinking was another favourite amusement. Vatsyayana makes mention of drinking parties (Panagoshti). (42) Bharavi in his Kiratarjuniya has a whole canto on the joys of drinking.

Another amusement of Hindu ladies in Ancient India was training the parrots to speak (Sukasarikapralapanam of Vatsyayana). In Meghaduta the Yaksha's wife is speaking to her parrot. (43) In Ratnavali, the "prattling parrot" repeats before the king the secret conversation between Sagarika and her friend. Vasantasena's Seventh Court in 'Toycart' is an aviary where all the birds were taught to speak and chant. Rearing the domestic animals was another occupation of women. Vatsyayana is of opinion that women may spend their time in training sheep, cocks and other animals for mock-fight. Sakuntala brought up fawns like children. Reference is made to women driving in cars even in the Rig Veda. (45) Savitri is said to have driven in a vehicle in search for a husband. Malati rode on an elephant to the temple.*

Females, in those days, also formed the personal attendants of kings. Chandragupta was surrounded by female slaves. Dushyanta had yavani slaves *i.e.*, female slaves of foreign countries captured in war. (46) Pururavas is said to have had female torch-bearers also. (47)

(42.) See Vatsyayana's Kamasutras Sec. 3. (43.) Meghaduta II. 24. 44 Rig Veda I. 116. 17 and I. 167. 5, 6.

* It seems females never rode on a horse. In the Mahabharata, a king hunting in a forest was metamorphosed into a woman and he says: "How am I in this form to ride on my horse" (Mahabharata Anusasana Parva Sec. 12.)

(45.) Mudrarakshasa Act III.

(46.) Sakuntala Act II. and Act VI.

(47.) Vikramorvasi Act III. and Act VI.

FEMALE WORSHIP IN THE EAST.

THE worship of the female element or the passive one in nature is a prominent feature in the religious systems of the world, specially so in the East, the storehouse of all religious conceptions. In the West, the dogmatic theology of Christianity, and the iron hand of superstition forced it to veil itself under a cloak of symbolism and mysticism, the traces of which we can find in the various specimens of architecture in Europe. The cross and the crescent, but very thinly conceal the phallic worship, which in the East was developed into a regular form of worship accompanied by its peculiar form of initiations and rites. Even at the present time, *Sakti* worship prevails to a considerable extent in India, in its grossest as also in its most refined form. The northern School represented more prominently the left-hand (*Vāmāchāra*), path finds its followers in Bengal and Cashmere; the Southern generally typifying the higher conceptions of that faith finds favour in the South of India. But we have to see whether this is of recent origin, or had its source from the common religion of the Aryans, antedating the Vedic period.

During the Vedic period, the best authority we can pitch upon, is the Rig Veda, the most authoritative and the most historical source of information, we possess. We understand from it that the hymns give no definite idea concerning any other worship except of the powers of nature, represented by Indra, Agni, Varuna, the Aswins, and the Maruts. Wealth, chattel, and prosperity formed the subject of the prayers, and in many places victory over the enemies. True it is that Indra and other gods are requested to come with their *wives* and partake of the oblations. But no idea of worship is anywhere associated with these conceptions, the mention being only incidental. For a long time, there was a misconception of the *gāyatri*, the easterns trying to find in it an authoritative example of the worship of negative element in creation. But the correct interpretation of the *gāyatri* mantra, the most sacred to the Brahmins, removes the illusion; Rig Veda III, 62, 10. reads: "We meditate on that desirable light of the shining Sun who influences

our pious rights." We see here nothing, but a prayer addressed to the Sun, the generator and the vivifier of the life in the universe ; hence a male power if anything. The whole Sūkta is addressed to the Sun, this *verse* occurring in the middle of it. Every authoritative commentary on the Vedas has explained this in a way that gives no room for doubt about any female conception being associated with it. The whole confusion arose, I believe, from ignoring the fact that the *gāyatri* means simply a *metre* and nothing but that. The other scattered allusions in the Rig Veda to Ushas and the Saraswati and other rivers would not in any way disprove this ; for example Rig Veda I, 113, 7, "She the young white-robed daughter of the sky, the mistress of all earthly treasure dawns upon us dissipating darkness. Auspicious Ushas shine upon us in this spot," could not be construed anyhow as meaning a worship of the generative principle in nature. Turning now to the other portions of the Vedas, we see that the Taithariyaranyaka is laid hold of by the *Agama* writers as furnishing an authority for the female worship. Of course, the subtle Hindu mind can give any explanation or twist any passage of the Vedas to sanction its peculiar theory and rites, as is evidenced by the fact that the most conflicting sects in India quote the same Srutis to support their own views.

Of the Upanishad, we find one of the earliest, the Keno-upanishad mentioning the word *Umā*, (III 12). "Then in the same space (*Ether*), he came towards a woman, highly adorned ; it was *Umā*, the daughter of Himavat. He said to her : Who is that spirit ?" From this newly introduced word *Umā*, some may understand a puranic legend was introduced by mentioning the word *Umā* the daughter of of the mountain Himavat. The most apparent meaning is *Parvati*, the sponse of Siva ; but of the many interpretations given to this vexed word, that of Sankara's first meaning seems to be the most intelligent and logical. *Uma*,—*Himavat*, or *Hymavati* means according to him. "Adorned with golden ornament (*hema* means gold)." Again *Uma* may mean *Brahmavidya*, and *Hymavati*, the spiritual knowledge that the sages got while they were meditating on the top of the Himalayas.

During the philosophical period, when the old rishis began to exercise their intellect in fathoming the secrets of the unknowable, they postulated that there should be everywhere two energies, in

nature, the positive and the negative; the male and the female. The one they called *Purusha*, the Supreme Being, and the other *Prakriti*, subsidiary to the former. A whole school of philosophy, built upon the idea took a great hold on the speculative mind under the name of *Sāṅkhya system* of thought. Here the division began to arise and many Upanishads were written to give an air of authority to this exaltation of the Devi above others. The Bhāvanā, the Tirupurasundari, and a dozen other Upanishads contain the most important and the most sacred of their tenets, and the practical methods of *Upāsana*. Nay a later school began to postulate the theory that without *Sakti*, Purusha, the active power, cannot create. The great Sankarācharya in the first stanza of the *Anandalahari*, one of the most authoritative works on Manthrasastra says "Unless Siva joins with Sakti, he is not able even to move." Kapila and other leaders of the speculative form of this doctrine state the same, giving a different name to Sakti as *Mūlaprakriti*, *Parāsakti* &c. So it has come down as an accepted truth that Brahma is always associated with his consort Sakti, Vishnu with Lakshmi, and Rudra with *Bhāvani*. In the Svetasvatara Upanishad IV, 5 says "There is one unborn female being, red, white and black uniform, but producing manifold offspring; there is one unborn male being who loves her and lies by her." But some other Upanishads praise Sakti as supreme and give all credit to her completely ignoring Purusha. There is one prime reason why the Ancient Aryans evolved a separate system of Devi worship. They thought that the life-energy running through all forms of existence sustaining them as it were is *Mahasakti*, the grossest form of which on the physical plane is the *Kundalini*, in the microcosm. This is located in the *Muladhara Chakra*, at the root of the spinal cord, where it lies coiled in three and half circles with its tail in its mouth. To rouse it and to take it through the *sushumna nadi* right up to the *sahasrara* and there effect a permanent union with Brahman, her lord, is the surest method to attain Nirvana, and the goal of the Sakti-worshippers. The sun courses through the *Pingala* Nadinis, the body driving up everything, and the moon travels through the *Ida* bedewing the whole system with divine nectar. Through *Pranayama* the Prana that courses through the Nadis is restrained in *Kumbhaka*, thus preventing the sun

and the moon from coming down. Then Kundalini awakes and hisses for food. She must be fed to break through the three grandhis or knots, the Brahmagrandhi, (the Muladhara, and the Swadhishtana), the Vishnugrandhi, (Manipuraka, and the Anahata) and Rudragrandhi (Visuddhi and Agna), to Sahasrara Chakra, where she bites the Chandra which is located in the middle of it. Thence nectar begins to flow towards the Chandra mandala in the Agnachakra, thus bedewing the whole system. This union with Brahman is only temporary, and she returns to her abode after every such process. She must so train herself up by a repetition of this practice to reside for ever with her lord, thus realising the highest form of bliss attainable—that of Nirwana. This engrossed the entire attention of the ancients and made them overlook completely the Purusha aspect of the question. This is the life teaching of all the Agamas, Tantras, Puranas and other books that treat of Devi-worship. The results held out were too attractive to be ignored and the nation rushed in to partake of the feast. But every one had not the necessary qualifications. Every one had not prepared himself by long and arduous course of training, physical, mental and moral, prescribed for a student of the science. Many books were written on the subject, and a wide literature sprung up dealing with the doctrine and the practice. This heterogeneity in the worshippers could not but bring about many misconceptions of the teaching. This gradually led to an utter inability to understand the more abstract and refined faith and necessitated various adoptions of the truths. The three principal forms of worship are *Samaya*, *Misra*, and *Kaula*. The Samaya is the highest and has as its object the liberation of the soul from bondage. They want to unite themselves with Sakti through Kundalini. It is derived from Sa + maya = He is with me. The tenets of this sect are contained in the five Agamas, known as Subhagama panchaka, written by Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumara, Vasishta and Suka. They interpret the Vedas from their own point of view. All karmas are entirely ignored by the followers of this sect who live as Sannyasis. The misras perform all daily karmas, worship the Devi in the various elements and perform the upasana on Yantras of gold and silver. They try to awake the Kundalini and succeed in taking her as far as the Anahutachakra. The Kaulas

are the lowest of the group; they worship the Kundalini in the Muladara and never try to awake her. Their worship is of the grossest sort and has nothing divine or intellectual about it. Many of them do not worship the Kundalini at all but resort to black magic and other nefarious practices to gain their objects. Minute directions are given about these in the 64 Agamas,* which Lakshmedhara, the commentator on Anandalahari says, was meant for the lower classes. They even resort to such indecent practices as the worship of the generative organs, intoxicate themselves with liquor and disgrace the community to which they belong. These are known as *Saktas* and are found scattered in the various parts of the country. They however excuse themselves on the ground that they simply follow the orthodox Brahminism, their *achara*. The Brahmins intoxicate themselves with Soma juice; they eat the flesh of the animals offered in sacrifice; they also exalt the worship of the generative organs in the performance of the *Paundrikayaga*. Why should not Kaulas do likewise? The Misra literature is contained in the 8 Agamas, *Chandrakala*, *Jyotsnavati*, *Kalanidhi*, *Kularnava*, *Kuleswari*, *Bhuvaneswari*, *Barhaspatya*, and *Durvasas*. The Kaulagama was or ought to have been the purest form and the one best fitted to achieve its object. *Ku*=Prithivi, and *laya*=absorption. That wherein the Prithivi is absorbed—the *Muladhara*. The literature of Devi worship is very extensive and is the work of a lifetime. The dark side of the faith is described in the *Kularnava* and the other Tantras; but we refrain from quoting from any of them as it will simply disgrace these pages. A study of the literature gives one a very fair idea of how the truths of the Upanishads came to be degraded into the low worship of the Agamas, from the lofty contemplation of the abstract powers in nature down to the slaughtering of buffaloes to the goddess during *Dasra*.

The Buddhists too were attracted by the Devi worship and worked extensively in that field. A greater part of their literature is now lost to us. Kunganagarjuna who ruled in Cashmere in the earlier part of the present Era, famous among the Buddhists for his profound knowledge of the mantras and the manipulation of the various powers in nature, embodied all his knowledge in a large work, *Kacchaputta*.

* A small description of these 64 Agamas will occupy at least 10 pages and so I have not touched on that point,

WARREN HASTINGS

AS CLERK AND COUNCILLOR TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

IN a recent Parliamentary debate on British South African affairs an eminent speaker on colonization expressed an opinion that those who colonize a virgin soil with the object of making room for the ever-increasing population of the world confer a far greater benefit on their country than the conquerors of a land already populated however wealthy it may be.

In the spirit of this declaration there is evidence of the complete change which European politics have undergone since the time when a Chartered Company of tradesmen were instrumental in bringing this continent under British rule. In those days the chief object of colonization was trade and it often followed incidentally that territory was acquired. Now, commerce is generally the thin edge of the wedge for getting into a country which promises to be a field for emigration: its small aboriginal tribe being either subjugated or left to become extinct in course of time.

This policy has undoubtedly an advantage over that in vogue in the days of the East India Company. The enemies the modern pioneer encounters are generally savages. The servants of the Company had to cope with intelligent antagonism: the diplomatic skill of the natives of Bengal no less than the fighting proclivities of the Mahomedans. As long as possible they confined themselves strictly to commerce. But the aggressive policy of the French as well as the continued scheming all around induced them to abandon their peace policy and to begin that series of coalitions and conquests which finally made the English masters of India.

When Warren Hastings first came to India as an underwriter the English had just begun to take an active part in the politics of the country. He appears to have soon brought himself under notice and was entrusted with various matters of importance including diplomatic missions to the Nawab on behalf of the Company.

It was at this time that Nundkumar and Hastings first came into contact, the former as a political suspect on trial, the latter as

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official enquirer into the charges framed against him. The interest of the case lies in Hastings' decision against the Brahmin, which has, rightly or wrongly, been adjudged the reason of Nundkumar's enmity to the Governor-General in after days.

There can be no doubt that even in this earlier part of his career Hastings' talents met with ready recognition from those above him. Vansittart, taking over the reigns of government from Clive, though not over-gifted with brains, was shrewd enough to know that he could not hope for a better second than the young diplomatist who had shewn himself to be capable of thinking and acting correctly in cases of emergency. Thus commenced Hastings' service as a Bengal Councillor.

Vansittart was at this time handicapped in much the same way as was Hastings later on. All power for good or evil lay with the majority in council who made full use of it for the furthering of their own interests. They cared little for the good of the Company and still less for the honour of the British name. Their behaviour towards Mir Kasim was conspicuously disgraceful. This by no means weak or inefficient chief, on attaining the throne of Bengal had set about reorganizing his government, no small task considering the state in which Mir Jaffer had left it. The English instead of encouraging him in his efforts carried on the most unauthorized proceedings in defiance of all laws. A privilege the Company possessed of trading at seaports free of duties was doubly abused by their servants including several members of council. It was never intended that the allowance should extend to commerce in the interior or any private trading; but these gentlemen claimed exemption from all tolls and taxes within the province, and for their private enterprises. The Muhomedan ruler repeatedly protested against these proceedings as they robbed him of much revenue.

Here we find Hastings in the character of mediator between his malcontent countrymen and Mir Kasim : and no one can accuse him of being prejudiced in favor of either side. Placing in its true light the effect arising from their unjustifiable conduct, he proposed to his fellow councillors that they should meet the Nawab half way with a concession—that a merely nominal tax on inland trade should be imposed on Europeans and natives alike. This was angrily rejected by the majority in Council who refused to surrender

an iota of their profit for the public good. Whereupon the Nawab being determined to have justice at any price retaliated by abolishing all internal duties on trade. Then ensued a war, the details of which are matters of history and which resulted in the English becoming virtual masters of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

It is noteworthy on looking back over this troubled period that the Company's first great political achievement should have been the outcome of one of the most disgraceful episodes of English History in India. Had Hastings' colleagues not goaded Mir Kasim into open resistance by their corrupt practices, the Battle of Buxar would never have been fought: and from this victory followed the grant of the Diwannee from Shah Alum.

More than one historian has attempted to excuse the conduct of the Company's servants at this crisis, in that it was a period of general upset and sudden changes: that the province having fallen without a blow under the power of the English, it was natural that they should succumb to the temptation to benefit themselves at the expense of those around them. This is hardly the argument to satisfy men who are told, *ad nauseam*, that British self-control under temptation renders England the fittest nation to rule India.

Hastings had intended to leave Bengal and the service in 1763 and only the outbreak of war kept him at his post. On the conclusion of hostilities he sent in his resignation and sailed for England in 1765.

During his life in India the motive power which ruled all his actions seems to have been entirely different from that of the ordinary run of Englishmen who came out in the Company's service. The sole object of most if not all of them was to acquire a fortune, while Hastings' chief aim appears to have been to make a good name for himself. Where personal profit was concerned his want of forethought amounted to imprudence. What little money he had managed to save while in India he had deposited with a Banker who promised high interest but never so much as repaid the principal. On his arrival in England he is said to have made liberal presents to all his relations. The result was that he soon found it necessary to seek re-employment in the East India Company. Hearing that the Court of Directors were in want of a reliable and experienced man to fill an important place in the Madras Council,

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he applied for and obtained the appointment—that of Deputy Governor of Madras.

His second voyage out to India could hardly have been a dull one. Among other passengers was the Baroness Imhoff, in whom Hastings found a kindred spirit. There was a husband in the way, but being only a German noble in reduced circumstances, he was easily prevailed upon to agree to a divorce in return for some pecuniary compensation.

On his arrival in Madras Hastings appears to have been slightly disappointed with his position. In a letter he complains “that the capabilities of his president, Mr. Duprex, left him few opportunities for exerting himself outside of his own department.” Here is matter for a little speculation: what would the effect have been upon this Presidency if Warren Hastings’ tenure in office had been longer, and his influence felt beyond the export warehouse.

Nevertheless even in his subordinate position Hastings earned the approbation of the Company for the creditable manner in which he reformed the whole system of their silk and cotton trade in Madras. While he was employed in this re-organization, the rest of the council were forming political intrigues and entering upon impracticable treaties with the neighbouring states, whom it would have been well for them to have left alone. For, the subsequent perils which Madras underwent were owing in a great measure to the engagements which its government made, but did not fulfil, with Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas.

Meanwhile affairs in Bengal were in the most deplorable state. The agricultural classes were groaning under an oppression almost as heavy as during the reign of Mr. Vansittart. The revenue administration was in the hands of risen native overseers. The only check upon them was held by a number of underwriters, most of them mere boys, inexperienced, unscrupulous, and all anxious to make their fortunes in as short a time as possible. A small bribe would be quite sufficient to make them blind to the doings of their native assistants. These overseers were not fit taskmasters for their fellow countrymen. For, as is well known, men who have long suffered oppression, when placed in ill-controlled power over others, are apt to be tyrannical.

The Directors, looking to their dividends, and being favorably impressed by the reforms which Hastings effected in his department at Madras, considered him to be the best man to set matters to rights. Accordingly, when a vacancy occurred in the Bengal Council he was appointed to it, with the right of succeeding Cartier as Governor.

Hastings accepted the transfer with alacrity ; for although on excellent terms with his colleagues at Madras, as also with the Nawab of Arcot (with whom he had had many dealings), he welcomed the prospect of taking up a position where his talents would have a wider scope. The advantages, both political and commercial, which Bengal had already obtained, made it obvious that it would soon be the principal of the Company's possessions.

R. B. LENAHAN.

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MYSORE, ITS PAST AND PRESENT.

HERE are several aspects of British rule in India which deserve an increasing share of our attention, and of these aspects nothing is more interesting than that which relates to the progress of Native States. Mysore is one of the premier Native States of India, with a population of nearly five millions and a revenue of nearly two crores and an area of about 27,000 sq. miles. Among the Native States of India, it stands second in population and extent, and the very first in the excellence of its administration. The dealings of the

BRITISH GOVERNMENT

with the state of Mysore have been characterised ever since the fall of Seringapatam by a degree of generosity and fairness which is almost unexampled in the history of foreign conquest. The British Government, not only restored the throne of Mysore after the death of Tippu Sultan to a Scion of the Ancient Hindu Royal dynasty, but also reversed the policy of Lord Dalhousie and allowed the penultimate Maharajah to adopt an heir to continue the line of succession. The maladministration of Maharajah Krishna Rajah Wodeyar compelled the British Government to take up the reins of Government in their own hands for fifty long years, and much of the peace, security and stability of the State at the present day is due to the foundations of good government laid firmly by the British Commission during the half century of its direct rule. During the

MINORITY

of H. H. Maharajah Chamarajendra Wodeyar, the British Government spared no pains to give the young Maharajah the best training available. His intellectual, moral and political training was entrusted to Englishmen of high character and capacity like Col. Malleon, Sir James Gordon and Mr. W. A. Porter, names that are held in great reverence even to-day in Southern India. While the Maharajah was thus most fortunate in his tutors and guardians, the management of the Palace was entrusted to the care of the illustrious Indian Statesman Rangacharlu whose integrity of character, courage and great abilities have won for him the everlasting admiration of the entire Native Community of India and the esteem of the British Government.

In the year 1881 His Highness

MAHARAJAH CHAMARAJENDRA WODEYAR

was installed on the *gadi* of his ancestors, and the Rendition of the State has in no small degree enhanced the glory of the British nation. It created a sense of security in all the Native Princes and proved to the Indian people the sincerity of British promises. Rangacharlu who had evinced almost a parental interest in the growth of the Maharajah from his infancy was the first Prime Minister. The finances of the State had been crippled by the famine of 1877-78. Rangacharlu, succeeding British Administrators and to an empty Treasury, had to contend against all the difficulties that fall to the lot of pioneers of every great reform. His genius as an

ADMINISTRATOR

and a financier soon showed itself. Corruption was stamped out. The resources of the State were conserved. Indigenous talent was encouraged. And in the very first year of his administration, Rangacharlu introduced a novel constitution in the shape of

A REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The Mysore Representative Assembly, a purely Consultative Council of the leading landlords and merchants of the Province, was ushered into existence about the time of the promulgation of Lord Ripon's scheme of Self-government, long before the establishment of the National Congress and long before the reform of the Indian Legislative Councils. Rangacharlu introduced the Assembly in the following words :—

"His Highness the Maharajah is desirous that the views and objects which his Government has in view in the measures adopted for the administration of the Province should be better known and appreciated by the people for whose benefit they are intended, and he is of opinion that a beginning towards the attainment of this object may be made by an annual meeting of the representative landholders and merchants from all parts of the Province, before whom the Dewan will place the results of the past year's administration and a programme of what is intended to be carried out in the coming year. Such an arrangement, by bringing the people in immediate communication with the Government, would serve to remove from their minds any misapprehension in regard to the views and action of the Government and would convince them that the interests of the Government are identical with those of the people."

Rangacharlu on assuming the administration had first to deal with the unpleasant and troublesome question of

REPLACING EUROPEAN OFFICERS BY INDIAN

ones, in accordance with the declared wishes of Her Majesty's Government in England and the Government of India. "I observe," wrote Viscount Cranbrook, Secretary of State for India in 1879 to the Governor General in Council, "that it is in contemplation that several of the Departments shall, for sometime, after the transfer (of the Province from British to Native rule) be presided over by Europeans. This may at first be necessary, but such an arrangement should, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, be regarded as purely transitional and be terminated at the earliest date consistent with efficiency." In reply the Government of India said, "In the 8th paragraph of your Lordship's letter reference is made to the proposed retention, for sometime after the transfer, of Europeans at the head of several of the Departments of Administration. We are fully alive to the desirableness of treating this arrangement as transitory; and we propose to restrict as much as possible from the commencement and to reduce speedily the number of Europeans in the higher ranks of the Mysore Administration." The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, wrote to the Chief Commissioner of Mysore in 1881. "The other European officials enumerated in the 21st paragraph of your letter may also retain office for the next eighteen months; but it is understood to be the wish of the Government of India,

that after that period they should be replaced by Natives on the first opportunity." While Rangacharlu was giving effect to the wishes of the Government of India, and placing every department of the State on an improved basis, Mysore was not destined to have long the benefit of his direction at the head of the State affairs, as he died in February 1883. The Maharajah, in consultation with the British Government, selected as his Prime Minister Mr. (now Sir) K. Seshadri Iyer, who had the rare good fortune of having been trained under Rangacharlu. The wisdom of the choice of the Maharajah has been demonstrated in the most unexceptionable manner by the eminent success which has attended the career of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer. The following are some of the

MAIN FEATURES

of the benign rule of Maharajah Chamarajendra Wodeyar which earned for Mysore the deserved appellation of the Model State and elevated the Maharajah in the eye of the Marquis of Dufferin and other competent Judges to the level of European Monarchs of the 18th century. The Maharajah imbibed early in life the principles of the British Constitution. To his responsible advisers, he paid the same deference, comparing small things to great, that the Queen-Empress pays to her Ministers, and he abstained, in the manner the greatest of British Sovereigns does to-day, from any undue interference in the administration of the State. He had, however, a watchful eye on all that took place in the State, and he made the best choice possible whenever a high office had to be filled up.

Herein lay the secret of the remarkable progress Mysore made during the short period of 13 years that he ruled over the Province. He fostered the

REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

with a solicitude worthy of his princely foresight and patriotism. "The Mysore Representative Assembly which had its origin in the first year of His Highness's reign and which was then composed of leading ryots and merchants of the Province, nominated by the Deputy Commissioners and the Dewan, had since a most encouraging career, and its constitution was revised in 1887, so as to provide property qualification for effective representation of the varied interests in the country, *viz.*, Agricultural, Mercantile, Industrial, etc. Various Local Fund Boards, Municipalities and

Public Associations, composed of the more advanced sections of the community, were at the same time allowed to depute members to the Assembly from their respective bodies so that proper representation of all classes of people and localities might be secured. A Talukwar list of qualified persons was accordingly prepared and selection of members made therefrom. Rules were also framed to regulate the conduct of business at the meeting of the Assembly. The revised scheme having worked satisfactorily, it was decided in 1890, to further improve its constitution by allowing the wealthier and the more enlightened classes of people to choose members for it, and a revised set of rules was framed, by which the property qualification for membership has been so fixed as to embrace the largest landholders and the leading merchants and traders. All persons qualified by property or education have been given the privilege to elect from among themselves the specified number of representatives for their respective Taluks, and the cities of Bangalore and Mysore return a number of representatives. In addition to members thus elected, the various Local Fund Boards, Municipalities and Public Associations are allowed the privilege of deputing members to the Assembly from among their respective bodies. Thus constituted, the Assembly efficiently represents all interests in the country." Its numerical strength is about 270. While placing the representation of the people on this eminently satisfactory footing, the Maharajah was not unmindful of the improvement of the

MYSORE CIVIL SERVICE.

For British India, the means of recruitment for the higher appointments in the Civil Service is the Competitive Civil Service Examination. Ever since he assumed the reins of Government, the Maharajah had had the question of manning the various Departments with the best material available, so that the tone of the Service may not deteriorate. To an observant mind like that of the Maharajah, the method adopted by the British Government appeared to be the best that could be devised. After much deliberation the Maharajah, in 1891, instituted the Mysore Competitive Examination on the lines of the British Civil Service Examination, and threw it open to the whole of India. His ambition was to get the best talent available not only in his own Province, but the whole of India. Such an act of high statesmanship, while it won for the Maharajah the admiration of the whole

of India, produced among some men of the Province a jealousy against the capable outsiders who by their merit had succeeded in the competition. One of the discontented men once approached the Maharajah and pleaded for a policy of protection. The Maharajah patiently listened to his friend's representations against the Mysore Civil Service. His Highness summoned one of his men to bring to the Palace the head-loads of vegetables and other articles of consumption that were being carried on the high road, and when they arrived, His Highness asked his friend to choose what he liked best. After the selection was made, His Highness asked the owner of the articles from what place he had brought them. On the seller giving out the name of a place situated outside the Province, His Highness asked the by-stander whether he had any objection to consume things brought from outside. The friend had of course to say that he preferred the imported articles on the ground of their superiority to local products. His Highness asked his friend to apply the analogy to the Mysore service. The friend admitted the force of His Highness's argument, and when the anecdote spread in the city, it had such a telling effect that since then till the death of His Highness, the voice of the protectionists was never again heard.

While the Maharajah was thus improving the tone of the Service and strengthening the position of the Representative Assembly, he did not forget the claims that

SOCIAL REFORM

had on him. Nowhere is Social Reform more needed than in India, nowhere is Social Reform beset with greater opposition than in India. Among the many customs of Hindus which have to be reformed, no customs offer greater resistance than those which regulate the marriages of Hindu boys and girls. Neither the British Government nor any other Native State has at any time even entertained any serious idea of interfering with them. But His Highness had the social welfare of the people, committed to his care by Providence, so much at heart, that in spite of the opposition of some of his subjects, but with the support of the enlightened section, and, strange to say, with the approval of the Heads of the various religious institutions in the Province, he passed .

THE MYSORE MARRIAGE REGULATION

which prohibits the marriages of girls and of boys before their 8th and 14th year respectively, and of men of more than 50 years of age with girls of less than 14 years of age. This measure of Reform may appear to be a very small one and hardly worth notice to those who are not acquainted with the Hindu social and religious life. It is only those that know how closely the usages and religious beliefs of the Hindus are intertwined together, that can appreciate the value of the Reform and estimate the courage necessary to make a beginning in the direction of imposing penalties on infant and child marriages. In this respect Mysore stands all alone in the whole of India, and is the single State that has entered the field of legislation in social matters. The most enthusiastic of Hindu Social Reformers in India can hardly at present aspire for more than being able to persuade the Government of India to extend the provisions of the Mysore Marriage Act to British India.

These reforms did in no way interfere with the internal administration of the country. The requirements of the

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

continued to receive the Maharajah's constant attention. The revenue rose year after year. The sense of security engendered by the broad-minded policy of the Mysore Government, offered an irresistible invitation to foreign capitalists to further develop the planting industry and the mineral resources within the State. Local Boards and Municipalities grew in number and importance. Money was spent without stint on Public works. The country was opened on all sides by roads and Railways. Trade flourished. The cities of Bangalore and Mysore were extended and beautified by many public and private buildings with pretensions to architecture. Projects of water supply on an immense scale were carried into execution. Education, Primary, Secondary and Collegiate, made rapid progress. And, in female education, Mysore took the lead, and led the way to all other Native States and even the surrounding British Provinces by founding the first female High School in Southern India, and to-day Mysore is the only part of the country where we believe grown-up Brahmin women are prosecuting their studies for the First-in-Arts Examination of the Madras University. Agricultural Banks were established to afford aid to ryots on the

basis of co-operation and self-help, aided by the supervision of the State. The Government undertook to help the Banks with deposits of money at favourable rates of interest. The Government also granted them exemption from stamp and other duties, and provided for the special registration of loans and their ready recovery, for the custody of funds in public treasuries and for the periodical audit of accounts, etc. Subsidies were granted to encourage trade. Scholarships were awarded to some young men for prosecuting their studies in England. The spirit of self-help was so much fostered that some of the graduates of Mysore, formed themselves into trading corporations, as an example to their educated brethren in other parts of India. The liberty of the Press and of speech was perfectly unfettered, and we do not believe there is any other Native State in which the liberty is exercised to the extent it is in Mysore.

From the date of the accession to the throne of the Maharajah, there was in Mysore

A CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL

composed at first of 3, and then of 2, members to assist the Minister and the Maharajah. At first the Council was composed of retired experienced officials of the Mysore service. Latterly, the Maharajah with a view to raise the tone of the Council and also to have by him the best experience available whether within the Province or outside, called to his aid Mr. Chentsal Rao, C. I. E., the veteran Revenue Officer of Madras, who had after a meritorious career in that Presidency, just then retired on pension. And not a few of the reforms introduced by His Highness's Government were due to the advice and initiation of this distinguished son of Southern India. In short, the Maharajah's Government assimilated all that was best in the Government of British India, and was undergoing a process of development peculiarly its own, and adapting itself to the wants and aspirations of a progressive people. And by common consent, Mysore was the one State in all India where some of the best features of the East and the West were harmoniously combined. The credit was due partly to the British Government which made such an experiment at Hindu sovereignty possible, and greatly to the genius of the Maharajah and his talented and worthy Minister Sir K. Seshadri Iyer.

While the Government of the Native State was being so successfully carried on, the Maharajah's death in December 1894

came upon it as a sudden disaster. So universally popular was the Maharajah that his death was deplored no less by Europeans than by Indians, by the Government of India on the one hand and by the National Congress on the other as a national calamity, an honor which falls to the lot of few Sovereigns and Princes of India. Now it is our painful duty to refer to the subsequent events and the

PRESENT STATE OF MYSORE.

The Maharajah died in December 1894 at Calcutta. In February, His Highness the young Maharajah Krishna Rāja Wodeyar, the eldest son of the deceased Maharajah, was installed on the throne of his ancestors. The Maharanee was declared Regent. The Dewan was given an Executive Council of three members exclusive of himself to carry on the administration of the country, and during the minority of the Maharajah the British Resident in Mysore was invested with greater powers. It is now more than 2 years since the new constitution came into existence, and we may well judge of its suitability by the results it has produced. We are sorry to learn that in the opinion of many Englishmen and Indians competent to judge, the present constitution is not conducive to good government and has already arrested the progress which Mysore was making during the life-time of the Maharajah.

DEFECT NO. I

of the constitution is that it provides no satisfactory central authority in the place of the Maharajah. Where the Maharajah represented the supreme authority, there are now four authorities, with varying degrees of power, responsibility and prestige, none of whom however can, as they stand at present, fill the void created by the death of the Maharajah. The four authorities in the State are Her Highness the Maharani Regent, the British Resident, the Veteran Minister and the Executive Council. The Maharani Regent has the status and rank due to her exalted station. But obviously she cannot be, and has not been, burdened with the full responsibility for the administration of the State, as was her lamented consort. The British Resident is only asked to advise the Mysore Government when his advice is sought, and he may call for reports and accounts, but does not take any active part in the administration and therefore cannot be said to be responsible for the every day conduct of the administration. The Dewan or the Minister is responsible in the eye of the Government of India, and the public at large and of the Maharani Regent, but he has

no powers commensurate with his responsibility and does not stand where he stood before the death of the Maharajah. His hands have been weakened, and in the place of one master he had to serve, he has now three, in the Regent, the Resident and the Council.

DEFECT NO. II

of the new constitution is its unsuitable nature both in theory and practice. Theoretically, some one authority must be supreme and have the final power as have the Viceroy of India and the Governors of British Indian Presidencies, and the person that is invested with the supreme power must also be the one that is responsible for the State affairs. The Viceroy of India and the Governors of Madras and Bombay have the power of veto over their Executive Council, whereas the Dewan of Mysore who is the President of the Council, has no such power. Secondly, the Executive Council of British Provinces differs from that of Mysore in that the members of the former are disallowed from aspiring to the office of Governors or Viceroy, while every member of the Mysore Council expects or can expect to become himself the Dewan one day. We do not know whether in British India, if the same possibility exists, Governors and Viceroys would find it as easy to govern the country as they do now. By discrediting or combining against the President of the Council, they will gain now nothing, whereas in Mysore such a combination, if it occurs, will result in the supremacy of some one or other of the Councillors. The Mysore Council resembles the Council of Warren Hastings.

Thirdly, in British India, the Governors and the Viceroy have a voice in the nomination of the Councillors, whereas in Mysore, in the selection of the Councillors the Dewan is not apparently consulted. Just suppose Lord Salisbury or Mr. Gladstone being asked to carry on the Government by colleagues such as Labouchere and Lord George Hamilton respectively. The only power which the President possesses is the power of complaining against his colleagues—colleagues in whose selection he has had no voice—and over whose decisions he has no veto—to the Maharani Regent. And no self-respecting Minister, and certainly not the present Prime Minister of Mysore, who for 14 long years has enjoyed absolute power with the consent of the late Maharajah, can be expected to prefer complaints against his new colleagues in the Executive Council.

The consequences of the absence of central authority have been the clogging of the administrative wheels in several ways. The hope of initiating new reforms and improving those measures already set on foot has been almost abandoned.

At present, the

TWO PREDOMINATING FACTORS

in determining the policy of Government appear to be the Palace on the one side and the European Community on the other, which naturally has some influence or is supposed to have some influence with the British Resident. Accordingly, then, their wishes and pleasures appear to be consulted more in the nominations that are made to fill up vacancies, or in the creation of new offices in which the present regime appears to be very liberal. The energies of the members of Government are reported to be engrossed in their vying with each other as to who shall win the largest measure of the good will of either or both of the abovementioned powerful factors. The members of Government may now be found on any morning waiting at the Palace door with folded hands or busy devising means to ingratiate themselves in the good graces of the Europeans, so that they may perpetuate their tenure of office and come out successful in the coming campaign. They grant additional allowances, without any justification, to the more clamorous among the Europeans, so that their voice may be of some help in the coming contest for power in February next. And this craving after personal popularity has also led to the rapid importation of Europeans in supercession of the legitimate claims of the Indians in the service. While the Maharajah was alive, the office of Chief Judge of the highest Judicial Tribunal, called the Chief Court, fell vacant, and His Highness appointed an Indian gentleman in the service to fill it. After the death of the Maharajah the same office fell vacant, and the present regime, superseding the claims of all the Native Judges in service, imported from Madras an European who was about to retire on pension after long service in Madras. The following protest which appeared at the time in the "*Hindu*" the leading daily newspaper of Madras, well voices forth public sentiment on the subject: "Even in British India it is an acknowledged principle that whatever objections there may be to the advancement of Native officers to the charge of a District in the Executive branch of the service, there are none to their promotion in the Judicial branch to the highest posts.

Accordingly, on the bench of the High Courts of the Presidency towns there have always been one or more qualified Native gentlemen. In important States like those of Baroda and Travancore, the highest Judicial officer has always been a Native. And yet the Dewan's Council in Mysore has actually, on the retirement of the Native Chief Judge of the Chief Court, trampled on the just claims of the second Judge and approved of the appointment of an European officer from Madras who was on the point of his retirement. The bare-faced injustice of such an arrangement is the more apparent, because, if any Judge has maintained the reputation of the Chief Court for independence, dignity and sound justice, since the appointment of a Native Chief Judge in 1890, it is the very Judge, who has been unjustly superseded. As a sound Lawyer and patient Judge he can scarcely be excelled by a European or Native. Before he came to Mysore, Justice Ramachandra Iyer was Chief Judge of Travancore, and before he was invited by the Maharajah of Travancore to preside over his Chief Court, he was one of the leading Vakils of the High Court of Madras. Sir Charles Turner had the highest opinion of his ability both as a Lawyer and an Advocate. If Justice Ramachandra Iyer had remained at the Madras Bar, it is not improbable that he would have obtained a seat on the Bench of the High Court."

The following quotation refers to two other instances where the present regime has shewed not a very commendable spirit: "Since 1883 the head of the Education Department in Mysore has been designated Education Secretary. The European officer who had been Director of Public Instruction from the days of the British Commission, held the office of the Education Secretary up to about 5 years ago, when he was succeeded by a Native officer of proved merit. This officer had made his mark first as Professor and the Vice-Principal of the Central College. This college owes a great deal to his ability and enthusiasm and untiring industry in the first year of its work as a first grade college. The Maharajah's College, Mysore, owes its present position entirely to him. In 1890 he was appointed Education Secretary, and ever since the influence of his reforming hand has been felt in every branch of the Education Department. Though called Secretary, he and his predecessors enjoyed the privileges and powers of a Director of Public Instruction. Before he joined the Mysore Educational Service in 1876, he was a senior

Fellow and assistant Professor of his college and had received a portion of his education in England. He is a Fellow of the Universities of Bombay and Madras. In the case of such an officer of long experience and proved ability, when it was proposed to call him Director of Public Instruction in name as he was in fact, the present regime opposed the proposal and appointed him Inspector-General of Education, the two first grade colleges—whose principals are Europeans—being made independent of his control. The department has now been split into three circles with no points of contact. There is practically no head of the Department who can hold in his hands the control of its various parts and harmonise their working. The present regime made no effort to secure the services of a qualified Native gentleman for the post of Inspector-General of Forests when it fell vacant although excellent material was available both in and outside the Province. The post was offered to a retired European officer of Madras who could not remain long in the service."

Nor is the new regime amenable to the dictates of

PUBLIC OPINION.

The Minister and the late Maharajah were always afraid to behave in an unjustly harsh manner. Now the majority in the Council consider they are supreme, and while on the one hand they are extremely solicitous of the pay and allowances of Europeans, they are wholly indifferent to the claims of Natives and can dismiss or retire able-bodied men before their time merely on the strength of their votes. They are aware that none of them individually can be held responsible for wrongs the whole body commit, and that Indian opinion does not affect their position or their continuance in the Council. We should not therefore wonder if many absurd arrangements are made before their present term terminates.

Even in the middle and lower grades of the service

EUROPEAN YOUTHS

who have failed in the most elementary public examinations and failed to get any footing in England or the Colonies, or in British India, are, and have been, lately introduced to the dismay of qualified Indian candidates of the Province, and men of proved ability in the service. This importation of Europeans in a Native State is not only against the express and repeated orders of the Government of India who, in their despatches,

again and again expressed their solicitude that the European Agency then in the service should be promptly replaced by Native Agency, but it stands in sorry antagonism to the spirit that animated the late Maharajah. He was the very embodiment of courtesy and kindness to Europeans and was always generous towards them. But he never allowed himself to be carried so far as to overlook what properly belonged to his own subjects and the Indian community at large. Once when he was on a short visit to a British Indian Presidency town, no less a person than the Governor of the Presidency, endeavoured to persuade His Highness to take into the higher ranks of the Mysore service an European officer serving in that part of British India. His Highness met the request with the most polite but none the less firm-minded negative and regretted that such a step would involve injustice to the claims of those already in his service. It is a matter for extreme regret that at present a policy which is so directly at variance with the spirit of the late Maharajah's management of affairs should obtain in Mysore. It is not to be understood for a moment that we advocate the total exclusion of Europeans. On the contrary, the Government of Mysore has repeatedly acknowledged the invaluable help that it has derived from the presence in the service of

HIGH CLASS EUROPEANS.

The example of British energy, rectitude of purpose, and devotion to duty cannot but impart a tone to the Native service and raise its efficiency, nor can there be objection to the sons of such officers of the old Commission as have done meritorious service to the State and are also qualified, being entertained in the service of the State. But what is objected to is the appointment of youths who have no claims, and what is worse, who have no qualifications that can compare with those of Indians.

Prominent among the

ARBITRARY MEASURES

adopted by the new regime, almost the first act on their accession to power was the one by which they have debarred Counsel from appearing in Revenue appeals heard by the Councillors. The old Consultative Council allowed pleaders to appear before them in Revenue appeals, with a view to enable the litigants to present their cases properly to Government as the decision of the Govern-

ment was final and would seal their fate for good or evil once for all. The abolition of such a valued privilege indicates the temper of the new constitution.

The present Government does not appear to be alive to its responsibilities in the direction of adopting some method for training Indians to offices in which technical or special knowledge is required. This neglect on their part leads to their importing Europeans on the score of the absence of qualified Indians. The policy of Rangacharlu was to train Indians for all high appointments in accord with the declared policy of the Government of India, that in Native States the higher offices should be held by Indians, and whenever a competent Indian could not be procured on the spot, to send for one from British India. This policy must be adhered to most scrupulously during the minority, and the Resident should be made in a manner responsible for its rigid observance by the Mysore Government. To refrain from giving Indians adequate opportunities for acquiring the necessary training beforehand and then making it a pretext for importing Europeans, should be avoided.

We have noticed with regret the attempt made by the present regime to tamper with the Civil Service scheme and endanger the central principle of free competition which is its essential merit. The late Maharajah devoted anxious thought to it, called to his aid a Council of all the important European and Indian heads of Departments in the service, and after several sittings the scheme was matured. The present regime without any such consultation or deliberation, and in a most light-hearted manner have adopted a scheme which entirely ignores the spirit of the late Maharajah's measure. There was no necessity for reconsidering the principle of the scheme when all that the Government had before it was the question of calling for further recruits to the Service. At least in deference to the memory of the late Maharajah who had done so much for the good Government of the country, we should like the present Government to leave the system alone and leave it to the young Maharajah when he comes of age to modify it or continue it as he thinks best.

Other evils which have followed in the wake of the new constitution in Mysore are thus depicted by the writer in *The Hindu* whom we have quoted above:—

“With the advent of the present Council, all encouragement of local industries appears to be doomed. The subsidies

to Native industries have been stopped. The system of Agricultural Banks inaugurated last year must languish for want of sympathetic nurture. The present cut and dry system of Government contrasts unfavourably with the late Maharajah's Government which steadily cultivated friendly feelings towards the people and attended to the wants of the latter with a degree of solicitude unknown in British territory..... A chilling influence has already settled upon the work of every department. The heads of most departments have been disheartened by the encroachment upon their duties and powers by Councillors. The best that they hope now to do is to save their departments from retrograding when there is little hope of advancing, for want of intelligent appreciation and support from Government. Their hands have been weakened, all important patronage has been taken away from them, and they have suffered in the estimation of their subordinates."

One statement in the above quotation requires modification. We understand since the date of its publication, some steps have been taken to strengthen the Agricultural Banks, and we are grateful for it to the present regime. Now that by February next the present constitution will have lived the three years of life, first assigned to it, it will then be the proper time for placing it on a sound basis. The first effectual reform which is urgently called for is the formation of a

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

for Mysore. The Representative Assembly furnishes the best field for the selection of the non-official members. In 1892, the Minister thus congratulated it on the extension of its franchise :—

"By command of His Highness the Maharajah, I have much pleasure in welcoming you to this Assembly, which meets here to-day, for the first time under the election system sanctioned last year. You come here as the duly elected Representatives of the Agricultural, the Industrial and the Commercial interests of the State. Last year when His Highness was pleased to grant the valued privilege of election, he was not without some misgiving as to how the experiment would succeed, but it is most gratifying to His Highness that though unused to the system, the electoral body have been able in the very first year of its existence, to exercise the privilege with so much judgment and

sense of responsibility as to send to this Assembly men in every way qualified to speak on their behalf. That men representing the capital, the industry and the intellect of the country, should have already taken so much interest in the working of the scheme, augurs well for the future of the Institution. His Highness asks me to take this opportunity publicly to acknowledge the expressions of warm gratitude which have reached him from all sides for the privilege of election granted last year."

Since the above words were uttered and since the inauguration of the new regime, we think a change has come over the Government in its attitude towards the Assembly. There was some justification for it, as some of the members belonging to the Lawyer and School-master classes, some of whom were unused to the exercise of political power, readily identified themselves with the agitation that was set on foot on the death of the Maharajah, and by their misrepresentation lowered the Assembly in the public estimation. This has naturally annoyed the Mysore Government, and recently signs are not wanting in high quarters of an effort to discredit the Assembly and impair its usefulness. But temporary aberrations on the part of some members, however reprehensible it may be, especially when members take to misrepresent the Government at the very time the Government had a right to expect from the Assembly and its leading lights every support and co-operation, should not blind Government to the merits of the institution, and Government should take a generous view, and should not allow itself to strike at the very root of an institution full of promise and with such potentialities of lasting good to the country.

The Assembly has successfully stood the test of 16 years, and on the whole has acquitted itself in a manner that is exceedingly creditable both to itself and the Government. Therefore it may well be granted the privilege of electing a portion of the members of the Legislative Council, the remainder being nominated by the Government from among the heads of the various departments. As in Mysore no law can be passed without obtaining in the first instance the assent of the Maharani Regent, and then the sanction of the Government of India, there can be no danger at all of the wind-bags and demagogues of the Legislative Council, if any, inflicting a defeat on the Government or enacting laws prejudicial to public or social well-being.

The second measure of reform is the

RE-MODELLING OF THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION

which has so far proved a failure. At the time of its introduction, Mysore was rather unfortunate in its Resident, who was rather a weak man and unfitted for such a delicate task. He, in making his proposals, apparently forgot that Mysore had a regularly organised Government which had been elaborated and successfully worked for 50 years by the British Government and for 15 years had had the guiding hand of a rare statesman like the late Maharajah. No change was called for in its constitution. What was wanted was simply the replacing of the central authority which it had lost in the death of the late Maharajah. Instead of this a radical change was attempted, and some scheme, which was apparently drawn up for such backward States as Gwalior and Cashmere, was applied to Mysore. The result is that departing from the procedure of all enlightened Governments, nominations to the so-called Executive Council were made on racial grounds and not on merit, and the Council has not helped the despatch of business. It will conduce to greater efficiency and the suppression of all factious spirit if the

RESIDENT

is given a more substantial and more direct share in the administration of the country during the minority, in consultation and in concert with the Dewan. At present while, if anything goes wrong, the Resident has power to come down on the Administration, he is by no means directly responsible for it. The old Consultative Council must be revived in the place of the unworkable Executive Council. Two Consultative Members would suffice for a small Province like Mysore. The Dewan should be bound to consult the Council on all financial and other important questions in which he consults the Executive Council now. No financial measure or no change of rules shall be adopted without the opinion of the consultative council being first obtained. The Councillors should be chosen from among the retired Indian officers of Mysore or of British India, if competent men are not available in Mysore. Such men will have no motive either to interfere with the heads of departments or to weaken the hands of the Minister. On the other hand, their ripe experience and impartial counsels will be a source of strength to the Government.

The work at present is greatly centralised, and suffers from

such centralisation. The Executive Council has no touch with the condition of things in the Districts as the members do not go out on tours and do not come in contact with the people and officials. Two Commissionerships of Divisions may well be instituted on the lines of those in the Presidency of Bombay. These Commissioners, taking rank next to the Dewan, will relieve him of much of the routine, and he will have time for the consideration of the larger questions. The Districts also will profit by the guidance of the Commissioners, who will be in touch with the Government on the one hand, and the District Officers on the other. With the Maharani Regent at the head of the State, with the Resident taking a more direct share in the administration, with a consultative council to help the Dewan, with the Commissioners of Divisions to relieve him of all important details, with a Legislative Council, composed of heads of Departments and elected members from the Representative Assembly, to enact laws, the constitution we propose will be the most suitable one which, in all probability, would be fit to be continued even after the assumption of power by the young Maharajah, and thus conduce to the continuity of the Administration.

Mysore has been exceedingly fortunate both in its present and past Residents. Mr. Macworth Young's geniality of temper and dispassionate disposition are widely known, and have received their due reward in the heart-felt gratitude of the people of the different provinces which had the benefit of his supervision. Col. Donald Robertson, the present Resident, is an Englishman of great force of character and unbounded sympathy with the Natives of India. No more fitting person can be found to stand by Mysore at this juncture and to whom can be entrusted the onerous task of preserving the integrity of the State intact as the premier Hindu State in all India.

NATIVE AGENCY IN NATIVE STATES.

IT is one of the most remarkable things of this time of transition and change in India that, while on every side the educated Indian is clamouring for a greater share in the administration of his country and is generally convinced that he is altogether competent to undertake the responsibilities of any exalted office to which he may be appointed, we have an object lesson in another direction which largely negatives the Indian's belief in his own powers and is a tacit confession of his inability to carry on the difficult art of Government. What that object lesson is will appear later on. One of the reasons, among others, given by Europeans, adverse to the "India for the Indians" policy, for the non-employment of Native Indians in the more onerous and responsible positions in the administrative machinery of India, is that they are, as a class, deficient in vertebre: that, in short, in the event of any unlooked for *fiasco* or disaster which, in a country inhabited by peoples possessing diverse and irreconcilable creeds and customs, might at any moment demand qualities of prudence, foresight, tact and discrimination and, above all, impartiality and courage, the Native administrator, when tried, would be found wanting. It is not intended here to discuss at any length this point; all I wish to convey in this paper is that from the practice, in places where it is apparently quite within the sphere of practical politics to govern a people solely by means of Native agency, it would seem that Natives, when left to their own resources, appear to be conscious that the growth of the *Igdrasil* of Government is impossible in India deprived of the (moral) fibre supplied by Englishmen. With that fibre it grows and flourishes, without it the dead rot sets in, and the tree decays and dies. Why else is it that Native Princes and Chiefs, protected as they are by the paramount power; safe as they are under the shadow of its sheltering wings and entitled as they are to seek its aid in times of danger and distress arising from external enemies or internal dissension, still reserve for Europeans some of the most exalted offices in their Governments and consider it a retrograde policy to substitute, at any time,

Native for such European agency. It may be said in reply that Native States are still in a state of pupillage and that until the vigour of accomplished virility sets in, the guiding hand of the European is required to foster their growth. Curiously enough this contention is incompatible with the indisputable fact that the Prime Minister of a Native State—an official on whose shoulders falls the most difficult and delicate official business—is invariably a Native and with the fact that the Revenue business of the State,—business that requires exceptional administrative ability—is always presided over by Natives. If then a Native can successfully—and the remarkable achievements of men like the late Sir Madava Row, and others now living, will be easily recalled in this connection—conduct the multifarious affairs of large provinces like Mysore and Travancore—and I select these as being among the most advanced among their kind—there is no adequate reason why Natives should be considered incapable of administering a particular department in such States—and as I have pointed out Natives do and very ably too, conduct and regulate the Revenue administration of the country. In this connection also the districts of British India furnish abundant testimony to the ability of Natives in all departments of the administration of the Empire. It cannot, for a moment, be asserted that the young Civil Servant just out from the class room or from his coach's hands, and appointed to the responsible position of Sub or Head Assistant Collector of a District on his arrival in this country, attains by a process of mental gymnastics, *per saltum*, to a knowledge of all the minutest of his many duties and responsibilities. It is perfectly well known that he begins to learn his work from his Native Subordinates who tactfully lead him in the path he should walk till he, after years of experience in the various districts, learns his business thoroughly. Some do learn it thoroughly and become in time real advisers to the Government, others, on the other hand, are ever in leading strings, plod through this term of service and retire from the "ablest service in the world" nothing but mediocrities. The ability of the Native is patent and has long been recognised by Englishmen. "Oh, I grant the ability," says the objector, "the qualities that they have not got are backbone and self-reliance and technical knowledge, and for these two reasons the employment of Europeans is an absolute necessity for any Native State that aspires to take a

leading position." The objection is tenable so far as regards technical knowledge. Such knowledge is essential in many departments, like the Forest, the Revenue Survey, the Educational, the Public Works, and in a lesser degree the Police. But why should the absence of technical knowledge be pleaded as an excuse. It is one that is easily and speedily remedied. While one sees with pleasure the British Government going to the trouble and expense of giving scholarships to exceptionally bright Native Graduates to proceed to England and to complete their education in any direction they choose; while one marks with approval that annually a larger number of students are passing out as Engineers and are being provided with appointments in the higher grades of the British Service; while one notes with approbation that Natives of India have won their way even into the commissioned ranks of the Medical Service; one deplores the fact that the Native States, in South India at least, are making no provision for the supply of capable native officials by giving them a sound European technical education. I hope there is nothing disloyal, nothing opposed to the legitimate ambitions of a Native Ruler, nothing subversive of the intentions of the British Government in regard to the internal administration of Native States, to say that if I were in the fortunate position of a ruling Native Prince or Chief, it would be one of my cherished ambitions to prove to the British Government, and to the civilized world, that under the beneficent and fostering sway of the British Government in India, the administration of a Native State under the rule of a Native Chief, purely by means of Native Agency, is an achievement quite within the range of practical politics. By treaty, of course, certain officials in Native States must be Europeans. But these Europeans have, as a rule, nothing to do with the administration of affairs. They are either Military Officers or Justices of the Peace and as such have no voice in administrative questions. Whether as District Magistrates and Collectors or Judges and Munsiffs, as Engineers or Survey Officers, as Forest or Police Officers or as Educationists in my ideal Native State, Natives only should be the functionaries employed. Such a Native State administered on English principles would be an object lesson to the British Government to which that Government itself would point with pride as the product of English training, English education and English fair play. "This is all very pretty and very plau-

sible," says my objector, "How about the moral fibre?" My reply is, that the assumption—and it is nothing more—that Natives have no moral fibre or self-reliance is an unwarrantable assumption. Compared with the dominant Europeans, Natives might have less, but that does not prove for one instant, that the moral fibre does not exist. Native kings lived and reigned successfully and beneficently, centuries prior to Englishmen invading the land. History readily affords illustrious examples of great men in the past, and it is absurd to say that among the 280 millions of India there are not large numbers of men fitted to rule in every sense of the term. Indian races, with notable exceptions, are not warlike, and yet, the "mild Hindu," properly trained and heroically led, has crowned many a noble struggle with victory. Can there be any doubt that that same mild Hindu, properly educated and trained, could act as a leader if occasion offered. Men always kept in a subordinate position will always be afraid to act promptly and with self-reliance. The opportunity often makes the man, and I firmly believe that the moral fibre in Natives would grow stronger if it were subjected to trials and given opportunities for growth. To apply a well known biological law—the disuse of an organ leads to its degeneration and decay. A Native State is an ideal environment for the training of Native administrators. There are no external enemies to combat; there are no great political questions to solve, and no very serious opposition within the State to fear. Every Ruler of a Native State should therefore endeavour to demonstrate the possibility of ruling his province by purely Native agency. With the experiment, the moral fibre which, it is said that the Natives of India so much lack, will grow with the growth of Native States and strengthen with their strength. Instead of Native Princes and their Prime Ministers doing something in this direction, it is discouraging to find that the plums of the service in their gift become the perquisites of Europeans. I consider that it is not meet that the children's bread should be taken from them, but when it happens, as it frequently does, that the European so chosen, is no expert in his business, has no special aptitude for the work, and that his only recommendation is that he is either the son of a distinguished father or the protege of some Anglo-Indian personage, it is more than injustice, it is robbery; and the only excuse for it is the conviction that forces itself on the mind that the authority responsible for making the appoint-

ment had not sufficient moral fibre himself to say "No." I maintain that it is useless for Natives to clamour for a larger share in the British Indian administration when Native Rulers themselves clearly prefer European Agency to carry out their work. Native Rulers do this, either because Europeans make better servants by reason of their special technical knowledge or because they really believe that the European has richer moral stamina. As regards the first, I have suggested how it could be remedied, and as regards the second, it has not been shown that Natives are not equal to any of the requirements that may befall officials in a Native principality. It is hardly worth consideration, but it may be that Native Princes delight in the empty honor of giving employment to a large number of Europeans; if so, it is a petty vanity which could well give place to the nobler ambition of training the Natives of India to occupy positions of trust and responsibility, and to demonstrating the possibility of an Indian principality being administered in every department solely by natives. Such an experiment accomplished would be a better answer to those who say that Natives are fit only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water than volumes of wordy warfare in the congress pavilion or tons of articles in the Newspaper Press.

INDIAN.

SAKUNTALA.

BEFORE proceeding to discuss the merits of Sakuntala, the only work of Kalidasa that yet remains to be criticised we feel bound to notice a few defects pointed out by Sir Monier Williams as existing in all Sanskrit plays not saving Sakuntala.

In his Introduction to the translation of Sakuntala the critic makes the following observations: "By a curious regulation the jester or Vidushaka is always a Brahman and therefore of a caste superior to the king himself. Yet his business is to excite mirth by being ridiculous in person, age and attire. He is represented as grey-haired, hump-backed, lame and hideously ugly. In fact he is a species of buffoon who is allowed full liberty of speech being himself a universal butt. His attempts at wit which are rarely very successful and his allusions to the pleasures of the table of which he is a confessed votary are absurdly contrasted with the sententious solemnity of the despairing hero crossed in the prosecution of his love suit. His clumsy interference in the intrigues of his friend only serves to augment his difficulties and occasions many an awkward dilemma." This criticism expressed in such strong language is far from complimentary to the dramatist's conception of this character but we have the consolation to find that much of it, whether Sir Monier William's observations are directed against the Court Jester as he ought to be or as he is, is altogether unfounded. Sahitya Darpana, a work of high authority on the subject describes the buffoon as a person who is skilled in provoking mirth by his assumed quaintness of speech, dress and appearance. No personal deformity of any kind is a necessary condition of his success in playing the part assigned to him. Again there is nothing curious in the jester being necessarily a Brahmin; for in the Hindu Society as it was then constituted, it was only a Brahmin that could, in the presence and hearing of the emperor claim immunity from chastisement for that rudeness of behaviour which in the language of Shakespeare is 'a sauce to good wit.' As for the Jester's wit it is indeed true that it appears decidedly dull in comparison with that which some of Shakespeare's fools display; but it must be remembered that the incidents

of the Sanskrit language make punning and kindred arts almost impossible. Nor is there any foundation whatever for the last observation. It is true as the writer observes, that the confidants of the heroine please the reader better than the hero's companion by their pleasant innuendos, their affection and anxious solicitude for the worldly prosperity of their comrade. But that is certainly no ground to deny the Court Jester his dues. Nothing that the Jester is represented to have said or done in the course of the whole play can lend any support to the observation that his conduct augmented the difficulties of the hero in the prosecution of his love-suit. The king sees Sakuntala, is smitten with love for her, confides the secret to his companion, the Jester, and asks him to devise some ingenious pretext justifying a repetition of his visit to the hermitage. He suggests one, but ere the king decides upon it he receives a summons from his mother requiring him to return to the capital immediately. To comply with the requisition would be to postpone the second visit to the hermitage. The king is evidently embarrassed and who could help him out of the difficulty agreeably to his wish but his constant companion, the Jester? The Jester offers to go back to the capital and supply the king's place in the queen-mother's estimation pleasantly adding of course

"If as king's younger brother he must go,
That kinship his equipment large must show."

The king grants the concession and the Jester proudly exclaims "I am the king's brother already." The king mistakes him for a giddy fellow and fearing that he might divulge his secret to the ladies of the royal harem, induces him to think that the king's talk of Sakuntala was all a jest, but the jester who apparently could read between the lines understands all that was passing in the king's mind and gives the following purposely short and significant reply "Don't distress yourself. I quite understand." He then leaves for the capital. We see him next trying his best to infuse some cheerfulness into the heart of the king filled with disconsolate sorrow and repentance at the recollection of his treatment of the pregnant Sakuntala. In the course of the conversation the king asks him why he had omitted to tell him all about Sakuntala when he (the king) disowned having married her. The Jester who had not forgotten how the king had once tried to persuade him that the affair of Sakuntala was all a jest, tells the king that he had taken him at his word.

This almost exhausts the Jester's part, if part it could be called, in the play, and we fail to see how the Jester by doing what he did placed the king in any dilemma.

It is next urged that Hindu dramatists have no claim to much fertility of invention. Here we cannot help thinking that this observation of the critic is induced by a misconception of the object which Hindu plays were intended to serve. The function of the Sanskrit drama was to place before the audience assembled at the theatre an ideal of life which they should strive to imitate. A thrilling portraiture of the frailties of human nature or of 'the ills that flesh is heir to' was considered hardly sufficient to achieve the one end in view, namely, the moral and the spiritual elevation of the audience. It was human life thoroughly idealised and free from all its blemishes—in fact a rose without thorns—that was presented in these plays to a gaping audience who found in the hero little of the stuff of which they were made. The matter stood thus—in proportion to the loftiness of the ideal would be the moral and spiritual elevation of the audience, but in proportion to the fineness of the ideal life would be the growing conviction in the mind of the audience that the story put on the stage was a fiction. That the story may be regarded as a real anecdote it was necessary that it should resemble the ordinary human life as nearly as possible. That the one object which these plays were intended to serve might be accomplished it was equally necessary that the play should present a life as much above the reach of ordinary humanity as possible. Here exactly was the rub and the Hindu dramatists got over the difficulty and satisfied both the conditions by adopting the following course. The Hindu belief in the stories recorded in the two epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana was always firm and unshaken and the story of some king or emperor therein narrated generally furnished the plot for Sanskrit plays. The lives of kings furnished the ideal of life which the Hindu dramatists wished to paint and the Hindu reverence for these two epics removed all apprehensions of the audience regarding these stories as fables. Now as the audience believed in the truth of these stories simply because they were so narrated in these epics it was necessary that the story as narrated in the play should closely follow the story in the epics. Any deviation however slight from the main incidents of the story as related in the pages of the Mahabharata or the Ramayana, nay, any improvement in the version would

therefore have affected the credulity of the audience by undermining the very foundations on which that credulity rested. The greater the exercise of the inventive faculty by the dramatist, the greater consequently the chances of the audience turning away with disgust from the representation of the drama on the stage. It is therefore no matter for surprise or regret that Hindu dramatists in adapting the anecdotes of the great Hindu epics were under the circumstances constrained rather to curb their inventive faculty than to allow it free play. We have till now assumed the truth of the facts upon which the complaint is based and tried to explain them away without disparagement to the Hindu dramatists. We shall now examine the facts and see whether they are true.

The story of the loves of Dushyanta and Sakuntala is decidedly prosaic and uninteresting as narrated in the Mahabharata. The king attended by a Purohit goes to Kanwa's hermitage to see the sage but, the sage being absent therefrom, he is received by Sakuntala who plays the hostess. The king is smitten with her charms and on learning from her who she was and how she happened to be there, proposes to marry her. She consents to the step on condition that her son by him should become his successor to the throne. The king signs to the stipulation and they marry in the Gandharva form. The king spends some weeks in the hermitage with his new-made queen and leaving her there pregnant, goes back to his capital and forgets all about her. Sakuntala is in due course confined of a son who owing to the royal blood running in his veins evinces a martial spirit even during his infancy, killing and maiming the harmless deer roving about the hermitage. Sage Kanwa noticing with pain the havoc that the lad was doing sends Sakuntala and her son under an escort of hermits to the palace of Dushyanta. The king repudiates the marriage with Sakuntala when lo! a voice in the air reminds Dushyanta of the marriage and enjoins him to receive her and his son. The king does so and lives happily with her. It is this story that furnished the plot of the play of Sakuntala and we see how exquisitely charming it looks in the garb in which it is dressed by Kalidasa. The substitution of the jester, however uninteresting, for the purohit, the introduction of the comrades of Sakuntala with their sly jokes and enlivening conversation, the tale about the curse of the choleric sage, the parting scene between Sakuntala and her foster-father, the contrivance of the lost ring

and its recovery, the aerial transit to and from Indra's heaven, the scene between the fisherman and the constables, and the amulet and its virtues have shed such a peculiar charm over the dull old story that we scarcely recognise it in the new setting.

Nor could it be urged that the fact of Kalidasa's having borrowed the story for the plot from the Mahabharata argues that he lacked the inventive faculty. Even the immortal Shakespeare was indebted for the plots of many of his plays to Plutarch, Holinshed and Boccaccio and no critic has till now dared to whisper that Shakespeare did not possess the inventive faculty in an eminent degree. If it be urged that Shakespeare borrowed nothing but the bare outlines of the plot from the originals and that the delineation and development of character, the interesting details and the artful involution of the plot were all supplied by his rich imagination, we answer that this argument applies with equal force to the case before us ; for no one who has read the story in the pages of the Mahabharata will after perusing the play of Sakuntala hesitate to declare that the genius of Kalidasa has improved upon the original at least as much as the 'faculty divine' of Shakespeare has improved upon the stories of Plutarch.

Having so far traversed the defects pointed out by Sir Monier Williams, we now proceed to discuss the merits of the play of Sakuntala.

That this play is one of great poetical merit is a matter on which the severest critics of all nations are agreed. According to the Sanskrit literati of India this play is first and the rest nowhere. As for the praise which it has secured to the author in European countries we need only observe that it has been translated into more than one language on the Continent and that critics and scholars like Augustus William Von Schlegel, Alexander Von Humbolt and Goethe have assigned to this play a lofty place in the poetical literature of all nations.

It is often observed by oriental scholars that the first three acts of this play are decidedly uninteresting. We are of course prepared to concede that the fourth and the succeeding acts interest the readers better than the first three Acts for it is only natural that as the plot thickens the play must grow more and more interesting. It may also be that on account of the variety of scenes and interesting incidents fast succeeding one another in the latter portion of the play the reader's mind is not compelled to linger long upon the same scene or incident. But we can

hardly concur in the low opinion which some of these critics appear to entertain regarding the first three acts of the play. These contain passages of exquisite beauty worth treasuring up in our minds both for language and sentiments and entitled to compare favorably with similar passages in the poetical literature of England. It may be that to minds favourably inclined towards the institution of monogamy the fact of the hero (of a play) having a wife and making love to secure a second may seem ridiculous. But that has little to do with one's appreciation of the poetic beauties of a play the hero of which does not for very well-known reasons think it a crime to marry a second wife during the lifetime of the first. It is true that when king Dushyanta and Sakuntala meet for the first time they fall hopelessly in love with each other ; but there is no rule, unless it were a rule of nature, which requires the hero and the heroine of an Indian play to be equally impressible. We ask with Marlowe

‘Whoever loved that loved not at first sight?’

The same law, whether it be human or divine, we leave that to Sir Monier Williams to determine, which made the untutored Miranda fall in love with her cousin Ferdinand at the first sight of him, the same law which made Ferdinand fall in love with Miranda at the very first sight of her and in admiration of her beauty call her a goddess made Dushyanta and Sakuntala fall in love each with the other at the first sight. Dushyanta's praise of Sakuntala's beauty falls far short of the praise which Ferdinand gives to Miranda's charms. Struck with Miranda's beauty Ferdinand considers her a goddess and asks her ‘if she were made or no.’ Dushyanta alike charmed with Sakuntala's beauty was sure that she was made but only questioned the how of it in the following verses :

A picture painted by the hand of God,
By Him infused with breath and living warmth,
Rather an ideal form of beauties rare
Conceived and shaped in His eternal mind ;
Or, Nature's skill and her fair form considered,
Methinks, a precious jewel of woman-kind
A new creation different from the rest.

If Dushyanta is touched at the sight of Sakuntala being relegated to the task of watering the trees in the penance-grove—a task to which her slender limbs were so much alive—and desired

to be allowed to do her work as her proxy it was exactly what Miranda from love and pity for Ferdinand, offered to do when she saw him compelled by her unrelenting father to carry heavy logs of wood and pile them up.

Nor are the amorous rhapsodies in the first three acts of the play uninteresting or positively ridiculous. They no doubt indicate a love-diseased brain but quite become it. Passages like these and the sentiments which they express are no peculiar feature of the Indian plays. Dushyanta grows envious of a bee which hovers about Sakuntala's face and calls it happier than himself, just in the same way as Imogen informed by Pisanio that Posthumus kissed his handkerchief is made to exclaim.

‘An! senseless linen happier therein than I.’

The following are some of the passages in the first three acts of the play that deserve to be singled out for praise, for their beauty of sentiment and language:

The lotus fair, though overlaid with moss
Is charming to the view; the spots, though dark,
Set off the beauty of the moon; clad though
In dress of bark, this lovely damsel fair
Looks all the lovelier: What garb but gives
To forms by nature sweet a sweeter charm?

How prosaic by the side of this grand conception read the following oft quoted bits from English literature.

‘Beauty when unadorned is adorned the most’

and

‘Beauty needs not the aid of ornament.’

The following is the poet's description of a bashful maiden in her first love:

She mingles not in talk but while I speak
She turns her face and lends a listening ear;
Indeed she does not look me in the face
But oft on others fixes not her gaze.
When facing her I stood she sudden turned
Her looks from me and often gently smiled
As if at something else. By coyness checked
Her love, not well expressed, was ill concealed.

There are many such passages worth quoting but we shall content ourselves for want of space with quoting the poet's description of the speed of the king's chariot:

What to the view just now looked but a speck
 Assumes extended form ; what looked disjointed grows
 A perfect whole ; nay what of crooked shape
 In fact, grows straight to the view ; nothing from me
 Long far removed or aught long near my side :
 Such mark now ! my chariot's wondrous speed.

Now going to the fourth Act we find that it is a charming idyll in itself. It contains beautiful descriptions of sylvan scenes for which the Hindu mind has always evinced a strong partiality but its chief claim upon our admiration is the vividness of the parting scene between Sakuntala and her foster-father and the portraiture at once so true and poetic of the workings of the human mind on such an occasion. The sage Kanwa, an ascetic with his heart weaned away from all earthly affections is agonised at the parting and truly expresses his feelings when he says :

That she will hence has touched my heart with grief ;
 My throat is choked with rising tears suppressed ;
 My eyes are dim with thought. If such the force
 Of grief a hermit's stoic heart can feel
 At parting with a girl no kin of his,
 What anguish would home-loving parents feel,
 When first they part with daughters of their blood.

Again how true is the sentiment expressed in the following verses :

Oh ! But how would such parting wring our hearts
 But for the hope of future meeting

Kanwa as becomes a man and an ascetic checks his grief and follows Sakuntala a long way but when on the eve of departure she is dismayed to think how she could live without him, the sage with as much truth as sarcasm replies.

A worthy housewife and a monarch's queen
 Your mind still occupied with grand concerns
 Allied to regal state and mother proud
 Of virtuous son like th' Orient of the sun
 You will not grieve, my child, nor miss me long.

Sakuntala, like a true daughter, entreats her father at parting not to think too much of her and grieve himself on her account ; but Kanwa replies :

How shall I cease to grieve when day by day
 I view fast growing by the cottage door
 The smiling plant that speaks your tender care.

Sakuntala leaves and in a moment Kanwa is himself again, gets the better of his temporary weakness and truly exclaims:

A daughter, truly, is another's wealth
 And having sent her to her wedded lord
 This heart of mine is free from anxious care
 As if it had a deposit returned.

It is hardly necessary to add that these verses truly picture the feeling of relief which many a Hindu father enjoys when consigning their daughters to their husbands, care, and we are sure that the mind of Prospero felt the same relief when Ferdinand took the hand of Miranda. Indeed we feel tempted to point out the striking resemblances between the characters of Prospero and Kanwa but refrain from doing so for want of space.

The chief event of interest narrated in the fifth Act is the repudiation by Dushyanta of his marriage with Sakuntala. The strong moral fibre of Dushyanta which made him refuse to accept Sakuntala as his wedded consort despite the assurance given him by herself and all her escort makes us exclaim with the king's attendant "What a high regard has the king of virtue? The king's feeling at the moment of his repudiation cannot be better described than in the following lines which the poet puts into the mouth of the king.

Yet unresolved if ere this while this form
 Of spotless beauty were by me espoused
 I ponder yet, perplexed with doubt to taste
 Or spurn her proffered charms, so like a bee
 Hovering round the opening flower at dawn
 Whose petals hold the honey and the dew.

This act also contains the following exquisite passages describing the responsibilities of a king and is likely to find favour with readers who have learned to quote Shakespeare's.

'Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.'
 "The sun his steed once and forever yoked
 Performs his daily circuit of the heavens;
 The wind with odour charged moves day and night;
 The serpent-lord for aye bears on his head
 The ponderous earth. Such even is the lot
 Of kings who from their subjects take a sixth.

* * * * *

All men are happy with their wants redrest;
 Not so with kings. Their wished-for object gained

Makes them less happy. True the object won
 Doth quench their eager spirit; but still they fret
 With taxing care to keep what they had won;
 A kingdom like the umbrella in the hand
 Oft gives more pain than it relieves against.

The following description of genuine benevolence is worth remembering.

Trees laden with their fruit bend down their boughs;
 The clouds with vapour charged hang down their weight;
 The good with wealth endowed grow not elate;
 And such by nature is benevolence.

The feeling of a hermit reared in the solitude of the forest at the first sight of the busy capital of a monarch is happily described in the following verse :

The monarch, true, is noble in his ways,
 Unswerving from the path of rectitude;
 His meanest subject is not led astray.
 Yet to my mind still reared in solitude
 This crowded haunt appears a house on fire.

The sixth Act contains the poetical effusions of Dushyanta's brain disconsolate at the separation from Sakuntala and tortured by repentance at the thought of his having cast her off. The plot halts in this Act and with it, the reader's interest. Matali's reason for treating Vidushaka in the way he is alleged to have done reveals a side of human nature to which men always own an unconscious allegiance.

The seventh Act describes the happy termination of the plot where all dissonance is resolved into a rapturous harmony. The scene of the child battling with the young lion reminds us of the decoyed sons of Cymbeline bred up like mountaineers,
 'Whose thoughts do hit

The roofs of palaces.'
 and of Belarius' exclamation

'How hard it is to hide the sparks of nature!'

And now we have done. It were a superfluous task to multiply instances of the elevation of Kalidasa's genius, of the richness of his creative fancy, of his striking similes, of the melody of his stately verses, of his profound insight into the feelings of the human heart, of his appreciation for the beautiful in Nature and the sober majesty of his style. We cannot help regretting that a mind so richly furnished by Nature "with the vision and

the faculty divine," should have left but so few imperishable monuments for the admiration of posterity and we can confidently assert that if he had dedicated himself to writing plays and poems as the immortal Shakespeare had done and left more plays of the stamp of Sakuntala he would to-day be entitled to be styled 'the Shakespeare of India' in every sense of that expression.

S. SITARAMA SASTRI.

GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA.

LAST September I had the privilege of visiting America and spending a few weeks in some of the important cities of that great country; and I wish, in this paper, to give expression to some of the prominent features of American life and character that force themselves on the attention of even the casual visitor.

It must be remembered that when we speak of the American nation it consists of the most heterogeneous races and communities. A traveller wishing to have an idea of the varying elements that go to make up the American nation has this opportunity on board any of the huge Atlantic liners that ply between Liverpool and New York, or Southampton and New York. On board the S. S. Campania, in which I crossed over to America, there were over 600 steerage passengers, mostly emigrants to the United States. They were of all nationalities—English, Welsh, Irish, Scotch, German, French, Italian, Russian, &c. They were drawn chiefly from the poorer working classes, and did not appear to be the very best specimens of these classes either. The American Government is now taking precautions to keep out the refuse of the European population from their country, but it is nevertheless a fact that for more than two centuries Europe has been pouring into America the very dregs and offscourings of its population. Very remarkable indeed has been the transforming and uplifting influence of American civilization on these undesirable elements. According to a great historian three conditions are necessary to constitute a nation. They are a common language, a common religion, and community of interests. It seems to me that the community of interests, the outcome of American social and political institutions, has done more to weld together into a homogeneous whole the conflicting elements of the population than any other cause. The Government and social institutions, as well as the industrial civilization of America, all unique of their kind, have stamped the people with a marked individuality which it is most easy to detect.

THE AMERICAN CHARACTER.

One most prominent feature of the character of the American is his obtrusive patriotism,—a patriotism not begat so much of pride of birth, as is the case with an Englishman, as of an overweening confidence in the political institutions of the country. An American has an unbounded faith in his democratic system of Government. He believes implicitly in the “Gospel of the majority.” He holds firmly, as an article of political faith, that so long as the Government of the United States is a Government by the majority, so long as the will of the people is law, the constitution can suffer no harm whatever. Every child at school is instructed in the principles of the constitution, which, in the eyes of the people, possess an eternal and immutable value, because they are supposed to embody the ideas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. I spoke of American patriotism being obtrusive. The American tourist, whom you meet with everywhere in the world, is never tired of descanting on the rapid advance made in material civilization by America as compared with European countries, and one is sick and tired of the eternal comparisons instituted between things English and American, even in the most trivial matters.

A traveller from the Far East is of course struck with the fever heat at which life is lived in America. It is something oppressive the mad rush and excitement of life one notices in all the large American cities. This is, of course, a noticeable feature in European countries as well, but it is ten times worse on the other side of the Atlantic. The speed at which the trains and trolly cars run, the eternal rush of people in the crowded thoroughfares, and the feverish activity at places of business and in shops—all produce a most bewildering effect on the visitor from the Orient; and he begins to wonder whether people so much absorbed in material pursuits have any time to think at all. The Americans are undoubtedly a busy people; and their activity is the outcome of their highly developed commercial instincts and their passion for utility; but this one-sided objective activity has certainly its drawbacks. It tends to make the people prosaic; it robs them of all ideality; it compels them to apply a direct, practical monetary test to men and measures; “to assume that the men who have got on fastest are the smartest men, and that a scheme which seems to pay well deserves to be supported.” This undue commercial activity affects even the

manners of the people. I missed very much in America—not of course in polite society but in ordinary business relations of life—the courtesy and politeness, not to speak of refinement, which are so conspicuous in the continental nations, more especially in the French. I cannot help thinking that in this respect the English are far better than the Americans, though they are themselves far behind the continental nations. The Railway official, the policeman, the tramcar conductor, and the clerk at the office, as we find them in England, are much more civil and obliging than in America. The Americans admit this national defect; but they seem to glory in it. One gentleman said to me: “Yes, We are not so polite as the English, but we cannot afford to be polite. We have not the time for it.” Others again defend stoutly this want of courtesy on the ground of the democratic principle being deep-rooted in every working man. “The Railway official in America,” said an American gentleman to me, “wants you to understand that he is your equal and not your servant.” This spirit is no doubt highly commendable, but it is no excuse for any brusqueness of manner and even want of ordinary politeness.

The isolation and reserve so characteristic of the English and which make social intercourse so utterly hollow and insincere are entirely absent among Americans. Wheresoever Englishmen and Englishwomen congregate they are sure to be split up into a number of cliques, each divided from the other by artificial barriers, and each looking down upon the other. This is not so among Americans. Persons of all grades and classes mix together on a footing of equality, and, free from all detestable conventionalities, enjoy free social intercourse with one another. This quality of associativeness begets sympathy, and this, along with the special aptitude for organization the Americans possess, has been specially helpful in forming powerful combinations for political and other objects—a special feature of the country. The passion for organization is so great that where two or three Americans meet together they forthwith set about to form as many societies as there are members, and start an elaborate machinery for the working of such societies.

EDUCATION.

The most remarkable feature of American education is the absence of a central controlling department giving a unity to the systems of education adopted in the country. The American cabinet

has no member of education, for each State is allowed to introduce its own system of public education. A Bureau of education was established in 1867, but this is merely an agency for collecting and diffusing information on educational subjects. The freedom given to each State in the matter of education has been productive of a healthy rivalry, and we are not surprised, therefore, at the people, as distinguished from the governing authorities, taking an enthusiastic interest in the creation and maintenance of public institutions. In some of the Northern and Western States education is in a most advanced condition. Some of them not only provide free elementary and secondary education but also maintain free universities. The University of Michigan, for example, with 3,000 students, is a free University. The constitution of California also provides for a "system of common schools by which a free school shall be kept up and supported in each district, at least six months every year, after the first year in which the school has been established." Higher education is carried on by Colleges and Universities, which are all private foundations managed by corporations. Almost all these educational foundations are of recent origin. The oldest University is Harvard, founded in 1638 by John Harvard, a Puritan minister and graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge. Yale University or rather College was founded in 1700; and Princeton in 1746. Other foundations for higher education are the University of Pennsylvania, established in 1749; Columbia College in New York, in 1754; and Brown University, in 1764. Among the Universities quite recently established may be mentioned Cornell University, founded in 1865; Johns Hopkins University, at Baltimore, founded in 1876; and the University of Chicago, which is still in course of formation. In the older Universities the residential system is enforced as at Oxford and Cambridge, but in the new institutions, chiefly maintained by the State, the students are allowed to live wherever they chose. There are nearly 400 Colleges in the United States in addition to the great Universities. The degree conferring institutions number as many as 343, with 4,670 professors and 67,623 students. It must be remembered that in America degrees are conferred not only by Universities but also by several of the large colleges. If we take University in the sense in which it is used in England, as a place where teaching of a higher order is given in the liberal arts, then, according to such a great authority as Prof. Bryce, not more than twelve, and possibly only eight or

nine of the American institutions, would fall within the definition. Most of the degree conferring institutions in America, he thinks, would answer more to the description of Grammar schools in England or *gymnasia* in Germany. The number of degrees conferred in one year is returned as being, in classical and scientific colleges, 7,185, and in professional schools, 3,296, besides 475 honorary degrees. "As regards the worth of the degrees given," says Prof. Bryce, "there is of course the greatest possible difference between those of the better and those of the lower institutions, nor is this difference merely one between the few great Universities and the mass of small colleges or Western State Universities, for among the smaller colleges there are some which maintain as high a standard of thoroughness as the greatest. The degrees of the two hundred colleges to which I have referred as belonging to the lower group of the third class have no assignable value, except that of indicating that a youth has been made to work during four years at subjects above the elementary. Those of institutions belonging to the higher group and the two other classes represent, on an average, as much knowledge and mental discipline as the poll or pass degrees at Cambridge or Oxford, possibly rather less than the pass degrees of the Scottish Universities. Between the highest American degrees and the honour degrees of Oxford and Cambridge it is hard to make any comparison." Some of the well-known Universities provide special facilities for post-graduate courses; and in the different departments of science original work of a very high order is being produced both by the students and professors. The education of women has been pushed on with marked vigour in the United States. There are over 200 institutions for the superior instruction of women, and about two-thirds of these are authorized by law to confer degrees. The system of co-education, that is the admission of women along with men in the same institutions, has been tried, more especially in the colleges in the West, and, according to competent educational authorities, it seems to have proved a success. The mixing of the sexes is reputed to have had a salutary effect on the manners and general tone of the students. There are some excellent technical schools in the country, such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Boston), Stevens Institute of Technology (New York), &c. It is extremely difficult to make a general estimate of the educational condition of the American nation. If we are to

judge of it by the nature of the newspapers that constitute the daily intellectual pabulum of the masses, it cannot be regarded as very high. The American Journals compared with English Journals are very inferior in merit. Even the first class New York Journals pander to the sensational instincts of the masses, and give very little in the way of solid thinking matter in their columns. Prof. Bryce thinks that the Americans are an educated people compared with the whole mass of the population in any European country, except Switzerland, parts of Germany, Norway, Ireland, and Scotland; that is to say, the average of knowledge is higher, the habit of reading and thinking more generally diffused than in any other country. But he thinks the education of the masses is, nevertheless, a superficial education. "It is sufficient to enable them to think they know something about the great problems of politics, insufficient to show them how little they know."

SOCIAL LIFE.

On this subject I shall content myself by saying a few words about the position of women alone. Women hold a unique position in America, for nowhere does the idea that woman is man's equal so strongly rooted as in this country. In no country in the world are women made so much of. The wife owns, in her own house, a more independent and prominent position in America than in England. The women have found their way into almost all the professions more largely than in any of the countries of Europe. You find them everywhere, employed usefully as clerks, secretaries, doctors, lawyers; and several have even entered the Christian ministry. They form an overwhelming majority of teachers, and the opinion is gaining ground that for children women form better teachers than men. The intercourse between the sexes is more easy and unrestrained than even in England. Prof. Bryce says:—

"In the rural districts, and generally all over the West, young men and girls are permitted to walk together, drive together, go out to parties, and even to public entertainments together, without the presence of any third person, who can be supposed to be looking after or taking charge of the girl. So a girl may, if she pleases, keep up a correspondence with a young man, nor will her parents think of interfering. She will have her own friends, who, when they call at her house, ask for her, and are received by her, it may be alone; because they are not deemed to be necessarily the friends of her parents also, nor even of her sisters. In the cities of the Atlantic, it is beginning to be thought scarcely correct for a young man to take a young lady out for a solitary drive; and in few sets would be now permitted to escort her alone to the theatre. But girls

still go without chaperons to dances, the hostess being deemed to act as chaperon for all her guests ; and as regards both correspondence and the right to have one's own circle of acquaintances, the usage even of New York or Boston allows more liberty than does that of London or Edinburgh. It was at one time, and it may possibly still be, not uncommon for a group of young people who know one another well to make up an autumn 'party in the woods.' They choose some mountain and forest region, engage three or four guides, embark with guns and fishing rods, tents, blankets, and a stock of groceries, and pass in boats up the rivers and across the lakes, through sixty or seventy miles of trackless forest, to their chosen camping ground at the foot of some tall rock that rises from the still crystal of the lake. Here they build their bark huts, and spread their beds of the elastic and fragrant hemlock boughs ; the youths roam about during the day, tracking the deer, the girls read and work and bake the corn cakes ; at night there is a merry gathering round the fire or a row in the soft moon-light. On these expeditions, brothers will take their sisters and cousins, who bring perhaps some lady friends with them ; and all will live together in a fraternal way for weeks or months, though no elderly relative or married lady be of the party."

All this may sound very strange to an Oriental ; for he cannot understand such freedom of intercourse among the youths of both the sexes, accustomed as he is to the idea that the only safeguard for the virtue of a woman is her seclusion. I have often heard even Indians who have lived for some years in England, speaking in the most disparaging terms of the morality of the sexes in European countries ; and in Indian newspapers we often find it laid down with an axiomatic assurance that the Indian women are more chaste than their European or American sisters. Such conclusions are the outcome of an utter misapprehension of the ideal of womanhood that prevails in the West ; and my countrymen would do well to know that the reckless conclusions they arrive at as to the morality of the sexes in the West are due to a great extent to their distorted imaginations and their low ideal of what woman is capable of in the way of resisting temptations. Ruskin speaks of a sheepish kind of morality, a morality that is the outcome of a cloistered existence where temptations are unknown. Such a morality has its value no doubt, but it is a weak, sickly kind of morality as compared with the morality that results from a bold facing of the storms and tempests of life, and the overcoming of life's temptations. It is futile, therefore, comparing the chastity of Indian women with that of their sisters in the West. The conditions of life are utterly different. That an American girl is all the purer for her intimate knowledge of the world and for the freedom of intercourse she enjoys with the opposite sex is clearly shewn by the constancy and concord that are features of the average American home. Give women the highest and

most liberal education she is capable of, instil her with the principles of true religion and morality, and she will be proof against all temptations, and be all the nobler and stronger and purer for the freedom granted to her.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

An Indian visitor, who sets foot on American soil, after a sojourn in Europe, cannot help noticing the prejudice there is in that country against coloured people in general. This prejudice does not manifest itself in any opposition but in an isolation and exclusiveness which are at times embarrassing. On the Continent of Europe and in England a dark skin is a recommendation for it ensures its possessor an exceptionally cordial treatment. An Indian visitor is most welcome at even the fashionable hotels in Europe and is often made much of; but in America an Indian is mistaken for a half caste, and as a rule finds it difficult to get admission even into the hotels. At New York where I was obliged to put up at a hotel, my friends had to come with me and explain to the proprietor who I was. An Indian friend of mine found it difficult to get a shave in any of the barber's shops in Washington. It is a mistake to draw any general inferences as to the attitude of the whites towards the coloured population of America from incidents such as these. The kindness and sympathy that Indians meet with from American friends shew that, as regards hospitality and cordial treatment of strangers, the Americans yield to no other nation in the world. In order, therefore, to understand the exact relation between the white and coloured population in America, one must realize fully the position that the negro held in American society before the abolition of slavery; and this, one who is not an American is unable to do. Before the abolition of slavery the negro was treated as no better than a brute. He had no social status of any kind. The restraining laws of bondage and the fetters of servitude kept him in a state of semi-barbarism and smothered all his higher aspirations. But since he has been made a free man and an American citizen the progress of the negro has been phenomenal, though it will be sometime before a radical change will be effected in him so as to fit him to hold his own with the free-born American. It was a desperate experiment the Government ventured upon when, along with the emancipation of the negro, there was granted him the gift of suffrage. The ballot has undoubtedly been one of the greatest educators of the coloured

people, for, in order to cast the ballot with a degree of intelligence equal to that of the whites, numbers have been induced to sacrifice many comforts in order to learn to read and write. Several colleges or universities have been founded in the old Slave states solely for the use of the negroes; and in all the States common schools have been established for the negroes, distinct from those of white children. There are sixteen thousand negro school teachers employed in the South in the work of educating their fellows. In the Northern States the negroes enjoy even greater educational privileges. Some of them find their way into the higher universities, and even distinguish themselves remarkable there. Not long ago W. E. Dubois, a negro student, won not only the first oratorical prize, but a three hundred dollar scholarship as well at Harvard, "where the contestants are *elite* students of the white races." Of late, some of the leaders of the coloured population, realizing that the avenues to power and influence are open to those who have their education directed into a practical channel, have turned their attention to industrial education. In several of the Southern States the negroes hold conferences at which they discuss questions bearing on their social condition. This is what a Negro writer, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, says of one such conference:—

"The Tushegee Negro Conference, a gathering that meets every February, is composed of about eight hundred representative colored men and women from all sections of the Black Belt. They come in ox-carts, mule-carts, buggies, on mule-back and horse-back, on foot, by railroad; some travelling all night in order to be present. The matters considered at the conference are those that the colored people have it within their own power to control: such as the evils of the mortgage system, the one-room cabin, buying on credit, the importance of owning a home and putting money in the bank, how to build school-houses and prolong the school term, and how to improve their moral and religious condition. As a single example of the results, one delegate reported that since the conferences were started five years ago eleven people in his neighbourhood had bought homes, fourteen had got out of debt, a number had stopped mortgaging their crops. Moreover, a school house had been built by the people themselves, and the school term had been extended from three to six months, and with a look of triumph he exclaimed 'We is done stopped libin' in de ashes'!"

There is, of course, still a sharp line of demarcation between blacks and whites in America, and though there is no positive ill-feeling among the races, still there is a great deal of prejudice on the part of the whites against the blacks. That miscegenation goes on is evident from the number of light complexioned people we meet with everywhere, but the fusion that has gone on so far has been an illegal fusion. In some of the Southern States there

still exists a law making penal the marriage of a white man with a coloured woman. But such a law is on the face of it absurd, for it utterly fails to hinder that mixture of races which it is desired to prevent. "The very social ostracism," remarks pertinently a writer in *The Arena*, "into which it is intended to cast these unfortunate people will operate against those who profess to despise the negro. So long as the negro race is made to feel that it is 'despised and rejected of men,' so long will the coloured woman feel that she is socially elevating herself and her children by association with a white man, no matter if the connection be irregular according to the dictates of our Christian institutions. So long as the 'cultured Christian woman,' chagrined at the knowledge that negro blood flows in her veins, can exclaim, 'I would lie down and be flayed without a murmur, if I might only rise up white,' so long are the whites holding out the strongest temptation to every coloured woman, for her children's sake, to seek an alliance, however illicit, with a white man."

There are alarmists in America who are for ever raising the cry that the negroes are swamping the white population. There seem to be no ground for such a fear. A very competent authority, General Francis A. Walker, writing in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, estimates the probable coloured population in 1900 at ten millions, out of a total population of eighty millions, and adds the remark that "considering the limited area of land in which negroes have an advantage over whites by physiological adaptation to climate, and the industrial advantage of the whites where climatic conditions are equal, it is doubtful whether there is room in the South for so large a population." Considering the inherent selfish nature of man, the privileges that have been accorded to the negroes in America redound to the credit of the nation, and it would not, therefore, do for a casual visitor to generalize recklessly on the treatment of the negroes by the whites, without taking into consideration the former condition of the negro. There are, of course, people in America who believe in the inherent depravity of the negro and his incapacity for improvement of any kind, but the history of the negro in America belies such a theory, for the events of the past century clearly shew that the negro has immense power for self-uplifting, though for years it will be necessary to guide and stimulate him. Christian philanthropists have done a great deal already and it is to them that the negroes can look up to for real sym-

pathy ; for it is they that are guided by the principle which made Dr. Hall exclaim : " I do not care whether a man is black or white or yellow or chocolate-colored, if he has in himself the idea of Christ, of doing as Christ did when he sat by the well in this low world of ours. If he has time to visit the hungry, and the weary and the sad, he is good enough for me."

RELIGIOUS SPIRIT OF THE AMERICANS.

People in India have strange notions as regards the place that the Christian religion holds among the Americans. In a free country such as America, which has been the refuge of people with all sorts of views and opinions, there is no doubt considerable temptation to strike out new paths in religion and to try new spiritual experiments. But it would be doing a great injustice to America if we were to regard it as a land of strange sects and abnormal religious developments. It is true any one with an eccentric religious creed will be sure to secure a hearing and even a following in America, but there is no doubt of the fact, that, notwithstanding all such new departures, Christianity has a firm grip of the nation as a whole, "touching and gilding the imagination of the people, redeeming their lives from commonness, and bathing their souls in the light that never was on sea or land." The State of course recognizes no National religion. There is no Established Church in America as there is in England, notwithstanding this the state Governments do give to Christianity a sort of recognized position. Each House of Congress has a chaplain and opens its proceedings each day with prayers. Prayers are offered in the State Legislatures and State Governors issue proclamations for days of religious observance. In some states the laws restricting or forbidding trade or labour on Sundays are rather stringent. As Prof. Bryce puts it : " Christianity is in fact understood to be though not the legally established religion, yet the national religion. . . . They (the Americans) claim the general acceptance of Christianity to be one of the main sources of their national prosperity, and their nation a special object of the Divine favour." The casual visitor cannot help coming to the conclusion that Christianity, so far as externals go, has in the United States maintained its authority and its dignity. Wherever he goes he meets Churches ;—in the cities, in the villages, in the wilds of the Western States. He finds everywhere the clergy exerting

their influence in secular matters and the religious set taking the lead in all philanthropic movements. But to estimate properly the influence of a religion on a nation we should not look merely to external signs, such as the numbers professing the religion, the interest paid to theological questions, the habit of attending church, the production and sale of religious literature ; though the application of even such tests point clearly to the more wide-spread influence of Christianity in the United States than in most of the countries of Europe. The influence of a religion is best tested by its effects on the character of the nation, and the way it moulds and directs life and conduct. On this point again the evidence for the influence of Christianity on the American nation is overwhelming. I cannot do better than refer here to Prof. Bryce's masterly work on "The America Commonwealth", which is considered to be the most impartial scholarly work that has ever been published on the subject. He is of opinion that Christianity is certainly the most potent factor in governing the life and in moulding the mind of the country. The ethical standard of the average man is the Christian standard. "The average man has not thought of any standard, and religious teaching, though it has become less definite and less dogmatic, is still to him the source whence he believes himself to have derived his ideas of duty and conduct." Then again in works of active beneficence no country has surpassed, perhaps none has equalled, the United States, and this beneficence is the outcome chiefly of the religious impulse of the nation. There is no country in the world that has not been benefitted by the philanthropy of the Americans and there is no country that owes this nation a greater debt of gratitude than India. It is Christianity that has supplied the emotional stimulus to this great nation, that has made them take the leading place in philanthropy and active beneficence among the natives of the world. I shall conclude with one more striking testimony from Prof. Bryce regarding the influence of Christianity on the American nation.

"There has never been a civilized nation without a religion, and though many highly civilized individual men live without it, they are so obviously the children of a state of sentiment and thought in which religion has been a powerful factor, that no one can conjecture what a race of men would be like who had during several generations believed themselves to be the highest beings in the universe, or at least entirely out of relation to any other higher beings, and to be therewithal destined to no kind of existence after death. Some may hold that respect for public opinion, sympathy, an interest in the future of mankind, would do for such a people what religion has done in the past ; or that they might even

be, as Lucretius expected, the happier for the estimation of possible supernatural terrors. Others may hold that life would seem narrow and insignificant, and that the wings of imagination would droop in a universe felt to be void. All that need be here said is that a people with comparatively little around it in the way of historic memories and associations to touch its emotion, a people whose energy is chiefly absorbed in commerce and the development of the material resources of its territory, a people consumed by a feverish activity that gives little opportunity for reflection or for the contemplation nature, seem most of all to need to have its horizon widened, its sense of awe and mystery touched, by whatever calls it away from the busy world of sight and sound into the stillness of faith and meditation. A perusal of the literature which the ordinary American, of the educated farming and working class reads, and a study of the kind of literature which those Americans who are least coloured by European influences produce, lead me to think that the Bible and Christian theology altogether do more in the way of forming the imaginative background to an average American view of the world of man and nature than they do in modern Protestant Europe."

S. SATTIANADHAN.

THE WIDOW MARRIAGE MOVEMENT IN THE DECCAN.

SARDAR Parasharam Bhau Patwardhan—one of the chiefs of the Peshwa—was the pioneer of this noble movement in the Deccan. He wished to re-marry his widowed daughter and to confer on her the blessings of a married life once more. He protested against the time-old custom and secured a favourable opinion from the Sastrees and Pandits of Benares. But unfortunately he died on a sudden and nobody cared to take up the movement! The movement has received a fresh impetus since our connection with the English. Western education and the preachings of Christian Missionaries have contributed much to awaken our sympathies for the hard lot of widows. In 1837 a pamphlet was published by two *Brahmins*, in which they quoted many extracts from *Shastras* in favour of widow marriage. Another book on the subject from the pen of a learned Shastree appears to have been published in 1841. A few books in the form of dialogues and novels giving harrowing descriptions of the deplorable fate of widows were subsequently written and published.

The late Pandit Eshwarchandra Vidyasagar had by this time done much for the movement in Bengal. He wrote a treatise on "Widow Marriage", and quoted therein many extracts from *Shastras* in its favour. He also proved therein the necessity of the reform from the social and moral point of view. He with the help of some leading gentlemen took the matter to Government, with the result that the Act XV of 1856 was framed and passed in the Viceregal Council. This Act lays down that widow marriage is in accordance with the principles of Hindoo *Shastras* and that the issues of such marriages are legitimate. Before passing the Law, Government consulted the Pandits of Benares who saw no objection to the legislation, and expressed their opinion in favour of widow marriage. To set an example, Pandit Eshwarchandra married one of his sons to a widow. But the efforts of Eshwarchandra bore no fruit. He first placed much confidence in the educated youth of his country. He thought that they were the only persons, who would reduce

to action what they thought and talked loudly of. As Eshwar-chandra had much influence in official circles, many a youth flocked to him for serving his personal ends! The young men sympathised and helped him in his mission for a while; but no sooner their purposes were served than they turned their backs upon him!! At last it became his firm opinion that the new generation was quite useless, and therefore lost faith in it!!! In Bengal the movement is progressing with the work of the Brahmo Samaj, it having no votaries outside the pale of that Samaj.

On our side the movement found a sincere advocate and an accomplished leader in Mr. Vishnu Sastree Pandit. He received his education according to the old methods in his early years. He then studied English at the Poona High School. He was in Government service for some years; but being tired of his drudgery and dependence he soon freed himself from the trammels of that service. He then set up a newspaper called the "*Indu-Prakāsh*" and edited it very ably until his death. He was both a writer and an orator. His paper was the chief organ of his party in his life-time. He translated the work ("Widow Marriage") of Eshwarchandra into *Marathi*, and distributed it freely. Whenever he could spare time from his usual pursuits, he used to go to some well-known towns for delivering lectures on "Widow Marriage." His meetings were largely advertised, and the orthodox party was called to an open and free discussion. Vittoba-Anna, one of the vast-read Shastrees of those days, called him to Poona for discussion. He responded to the call and went to Poona in 1868. But Vittoba-Anna instead of coming to a discussion began to deliver public lectures against the widow marriage movement. Thereupon Vishnu Shastree also began to deliver public lectures, which were full of quotations from Shastras in support of widow marriage. His lectures had a very good effect on the audience which used to increase every day. The enthusiasm which the reform party showed at that time is beyond all description.

A "Widow Marriage Association" came into existence in the year 1866. It had among its supporters many men of light and learning. Appa Saheb, the Chief of the Jamkhindi State, was its President, and Umdetulmulka Dada Saheb Vinchurkar was its Vice-President. Vishnu Shastree was its Secretary, and Justice M. G. Ranade, the late Justice K. T. Telang, Gopal Rao Deshmukha, Shantaram Narayan, Narayan Mahades Permanand

and many others were its members. The orthodox party did not remain quiet. They organised a "Hindoo Dharma Vyavasthapak Mandali." The latter 'Mandali' held regular meetings, and gave as its opinion that widow marriage is against the Hindoo Shastras. It had its organs and preachers, its chief object being to undo the work done by the former association. A very hot discussion went on between these two rival parties for nearly three years. At last the reform party being tired of these hollow discussions resolved to direct its energies to popularise widow marriages.

It happened that a widow by name Venu Bai who had lost her father and mother expressed her desire to re-marry. Her two brothers having consented, she communicated her desire to the "Widow Marriage Association." Though the Association had many widowers on its roll, none of them had the moral courage to come forward to accept the proposal! Some of the organisers of the Association, who could have availed themselves of this opportunity to set an example to the rising generation, hid their faces, and when taken to task brought forth very lame excuses! An advertisement, therefore, appeared in the "*Indu-prakâsh*." It was responded to by one Mr. P. V. Karmarkar, a teacher in a Marathi School in the Khandesh District. Mr. Karmarkar came to Bombay, and the re-marriage was celebrated with great pomp and splendour on the 15th June 1869. The ceremony was graced with the presence of High Court Judges, Barristers, Pleaders, Doctors and many other prominent men, both Native and European. According to the local practice the sum collected from the well-wishers of the newly married couple on that day amounted to Rs. 3,000.

It would not be out of place to mention here that three widow marriages had taken place before this time. The first was in 1854; the second in 1865, and the third in 1866. As they were not celebrated very publicly and with pomp, they did not attract much attention from the public. To turn to our subject, the orthodox party was considering how to harrass the men who had helped the above widow marriage. The married couple together with the seven gentlemen who had signed the invitation cards and the two brothers of the bride were excommunicated, and letters were sent to *mofussil* towns for the information of Acharyas and Shastrees.

The other party contended that widow marriage was sanctioned by the Hindu Shastras, and that until it was disproved nobody had any right to ex-communicate another. There was a great correspondence on the subject in the columns of the "Indû-prakâsh." As many as 172 other persons had come forward to support the above view. The opposite party having realised the force of this argument, expressed its willingness to hold discussions about the legality of widow marriages according to the Hindu Shastras. They wrote to Shankaracharya of Karvir and Sankeshwar, and requested him to settle this delicate and important question. The Acharya complied with their request, and condescended to come to Poona in March 1870. The reform party was called to a discussion. Many Shastrees and Pandits were invited by Shankaracharya to Poona. The terms of the discussion were settled; but the great question was who should give the final decision. The reform party argued that Shrimat Acharya being adverse to the practice of widow marriage, would hardly be able to give a fair decision. At last it was agreed that the decision, which Shankaracharya would give, after going carefully through the discussion, should be binding on both the parties. Five men were appointed to represent each party. They were called '*Punch*.' Besides this a Sar Panch was appointed to give his opinion in case of an equal division of the opinions of the Punches. It was promised by Sankaracharya that no Shastree or Punch would be harrassed or ex-communicated, who gave his opinion in favour of widow-marriage in that discussion. The discussion began on the 27th March 1870 and lasted for nine days. It was strictly carried on in writing and was recorded by Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade and Vittoba-Anna Karhadkar. The reform party had yet to give many proofs from the Shastras in support of widow marriage. But Shankaracharya intimated that the discussion being sufficient, opinions of the Punches should be collected. The orthodox party got six votes while the reform party only four. Vyankat Shastree, a *punch* of the latter party, only through sheer pressure, gave his vote to the former party. This led to great troubles as will be seen later on.

Vyankat Shastree was an old gentleman of very good disposition. He had shown to Vishnu Shastree an authority from the Shastras in support of widow marriage. This authority was quoted by Vishnu Shastree in the discussion. If the orthodox party honourably claim the vote of Vyankat Shastree, they

ought to have refuted it or he ought to have withdrawn it. Naturally the reform party was anxious to gauge the sincerity of his opinion. They sent a Shastree to him. He candidly admitted in the presence of two or three other Shastrees that his opinion was till that time in favour of widow marriage, and that he had shown an authority from the Shastras to Vishnu Shastree to that effect. He also admitted that through pressure from Shankaracharya and other Shastrees he gave his opinion for the orthodox party. This whole scandalous affair was published by Mr. Gore in the "Dnyan-prakâsh." Thereupon the said party became very wild and took the aged Vyankat Shastree severely to task for giving out the secret. He was taken to Shankaracharya, and there they made him sign a paper denying all that Mr. Gore had published in the "Dnyan-prakash." This latter statement of Vyankat Shastree's was published in placards, and the writings of the "Dnyan-prakash" on the subject were condemned as mere falsehood.

Shri Shankaracharya then convened a general meeting to give out the final decision. Mr. Malvankar who was a great speaker was instructed to communicate the opinions of the *punches*. He, instead of sticking to the point, read the placard, alluded to the statements of Vyankat Shastree, and censured Mr. Gore for publishing lies in the "Dnyan-prakâsh." Mr. Gore filed a suit for libel before Dr. Fraser, the then Railway Magistrate. The reform party produced convincing proof for what Mr. Vyankat Shastree had acknowledged at his house in the presence of the two or three Shastrees as well as for foul words used by Mr. Malvankar against Mr. Gore in the meeting. The Magistrate having found Vyankat Shastree to be an old and good natured man acquitted him, but sentenced Mr. Malvankar to undergo simple imprisonment for 32 days. An appeal was, however, preferred to the District Judge, in which a fine of Rs. 100 was inflicted in lieu of the simple imprisonment. Those who gave false depositions in this trial were also charged and brought before the Court. Mr. Malvankar was one of the witnesses. The charge of falsehood having been proved against him, he was sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment. Besides this the editors of the "Dnyan-prakâsh" and "Indu-prakâsh" had filed suits against him for defamation. He asked apology of the former while the latter out of pity withdrew his complaint. Vyankat Shastree who was also examined in this case acknowledged the fact of his showing an

authority of Shastras for widow marriage and his full belief in the truth of that authority.

I now leave it to the readers to judge whether the decision given by Shankaracharya was right and proper. On going minutely through the facts of the discussion it appears that his mind was biased from the beginning. He should not have considered the question, as he did, from the rigid standpoint of custom. Had he considered it from any other point of view, I am sure, he would have given a very favourable decision. But the sufferings of the downtrodden widow were not to end so early! Twenty-seven long years have rolled away, and yet the decision remains as it is! I think the question might again be placed before the *Jagat Guru*, and his favour be once more solicited on behalf of the helpless widow.

The moral weakness which some members of the reform party showed at this time had a very discouraging effect on the progress of this movement. They have not shown that energy any longer, which they did in the beginning. Their ranks were thinned. Four out of the seven men who had signed the invitation cards and were consequently boycotted, did expiation to re-enter the folds of their respective castes! The only men who remained faithful to the last were Vishnu Parasharam Ranade and Vishnu Shastree Pandit. The latter gentleman, to set a personal example, married a widow in 1874.

After the death of Vishnu Shastree Pandit, which occurred in 1875, the movement suffered a great deal. Though there was no energetic and sincere leader for a long time, the movement did not die out. It had in the meantime made its way among the Gujarathis. A "Widow Marriage Association" was established at Ahmadabad to help such widows and widowers as wished to re-marry. Madhavdas Raghunathdas, a rich Bania, married a widow in 1870, and in spite of bitter persecution, did his best to spread this new practice among the high caste Hindus. He built a "Widow Marriage Hall" and was always ready to ameliorate the condition of widows as far as he could. The spread of this movement among the Gujarathis is not a little due to his efforts. It has struck a deep root among the Dakshanis as well as Gujarathis, and there is no ground for entertaining fears about its premature death. About 70 widow marriages have already taken place, and the fresh vigour which the movement

seems to have gained during the last three or four years promises a very good future.

THE SECOND ATTEMPT.

The "Widow Marriage Association" which was founded in 1866 had died away through decay. A new Association, *viz.* : Vidhavâ Vivâhotejak Mandali, had come into existence in its place and shared the same fate. Another Association of the same name was again formed and is now amalgamated with the existing "Vidhavâ Vivâha Pratibandha Nivârak Mandali"—(Association for preventing opposition in the way of widow marriages). This last Association was founded in 1893, and has been since doing a very useful work. Its avowed object is to work on principles laid down by the late Eshwarchandra Vidyasagar and Vishnu Shastree Pandit; to encourage widow marriages amongst men and women of the same caste or creed; to perform such ceremonies according to the Shastras; and to take care of the progeny of such married couples. The one peculiar feature of the above 'Mandali' is that it has been started by men who have re-married in this way as well as by men who have at heart the well-being of such married couples and their children. It has at present nearly 600 members on its list and will, I hope, by its untiring efforts get many more in the near future.

Y. S. VAVIKAR.

RELIGIOUS RIOTS; THEIR CAUSES AND THEIR REMEDIES.

THE peace of India has been disturbed within the memory of the present generation by religious riots whose consequences, immediate and remote, have been too serious to be overlooked. Originating in causes apparently trivial and nourished by sentiments which will not bear scrutiny, the religious animosity of the Muhammadans and the Hindus ever smouldering like a hidden fire in their breasts and waiting for some extraneous cause to be fanned into a fearful blaze has often found its vent in the destruction of temples and mosques and in the cutting of each other's throats. Of late years these unhappy riots have been more than occasional, and it is as painful as surprising that every riot, however inconsiderable, that has come and gone has increased the discord already existing. It is hardly necessary to say that this state of things deserves to be looked into, that the causes of these persistent disturbances of the tranquility of the Indian public should be investigated and remedial measures suggested and adopted to check these unwelcome outbursts of religious animosity between two peoples owning allegiance to the same sovereign.

Now looking long back into the history of India we find that such riots were altogether unknown till India came under the British sway. This thorough immunity from outbreaks of such a malignant character cannot be attributed to the sameness of religious beliefs then prevailing among the different peoples of India. There were then the Buddhists, the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and their quarrels about their several faiths were as unabated then as now. The Hindus never possessed a martial spirit and they are now just as much afraid of being drawn into a quarrel as their forefathers were centuries ago. The Muhammadans have always been regarded as more martial than their Hindu brethren; and their belief, that the sword is the key to Heaven being as old as their Prophet was as strong centuries ago as it is now. In respect of religious beliefs and martial spirit the Hindus and the Muhammadans have long been what they are now. It may be true that the Hindus persecuted the Buddhists; it may be equally

true that in the palmy days of Buddhism after it became the state-religion under Asoka, the Hindus were, if not relentlessly persecuted, driven to a corner by the flowing tide of Buddhism. Probably the Muhammadans had a hard day of it when they were persecuted by Hindu kings who were zealots of the Hindu faith, and no doubt the Hindus were heartlessly persecuted by Aurangzeb who gave every Hindu official under him the option of losing his pay or his religion and who demolished many Hindu temples at Benares to furnish sites for the construction of mosques. But nowhere in the annals of Ancient India, whether in the Hindu, the Buddhistic or the Muhammadan period, do we hear of religious riots that could properly be so designated. The domineering religion supported by the whole weight of state-power trampled upon hostile religions in the field, which continually retired before it without a blow. Those ancient days never once presented the unhappy spectacle of followers of different religions in armed batches killing and wounding each other, the State feeling itself helpless to make peace between the combatants.

The conclusion we are driving at is strongly supported also by a consideration of the state of affairs in Native states, altogether independent or aided, at the present day. The States of Mysore and Travancore, whose population consists of peoples entertaining different religious beliefs with a tenacity nothing inferior to that evinced by their co-religionists inhabiting portions of India under the immediate sway of the British Government and similarly situated in respect of numerical strength, are entirely free from such visitations of religious fanaticism. Not that the Muhammadans in these Native states are less credulous in respect of the future reward of propagating the religion of the Prophet at the point of the sword than their faithful brethren in territories under the British sway, not that they are powerfully outnumbered by the Hindus in these Native states, and not that their long residence in such states has counteracted the development of their martial spirit and made them lag behind their brethren in other parts of India in that respect. Take again the Nizam's Dominions. The Muhammadans there cannot certainly complain of want of power. They are ruled over by one who is like them a follower of the Prophet. The Hindu population of the Nizam's territories is admittedly not in excess of the Muhammadan population. The Muhammadans there are quite like

their brethren in other parts of India in the matter of religious susceptibilities, martial spirit and general irritability of temper; and the Hindus there are exactly like their brethren elsewhere in India. But we hear of no religious disturbances in Hyderabad. There are Hindu temples and Muhammadan mosques, and the Hindus and Muhammadans go to temples and mosques there just as their co-religionists do elsewhere.

The process of elimination indicated by these statements clearly points to the one conclusion that the explanation of these shocking religious outbreaks, repeated of late years too often in the parts of India under British sway, is to be sought, not so much in the belligerent proclivities imbedded in the physical constitution of this community or that, not so much in the reciprocal and inveterate hatred of the contending communities, nourished and hardened by the bitter recollection of wrongs inflicted and endured, not so much in the uncompromising religious bigotry of the one class or the other, not so much in the future reward promised to those who die in the cause of their religion or who kill and slay for the purpose of propagating their favorite faith, as in certain principles based on policy or sense of fair play which the British Government has laid down as its guide in the administration of their eastern empire and which, the Indian subjects have been assured both by previous proclamation and subsequent conduct, would be uniformly acted upon. These riots are the concomitants of the British administration, and it is idle to look for their causes in those circumstances which had continued to exist for thousands of years without producing even one solitary instance of a riot, however inconsiderable. We are therefore driven to seek for their causes in the incidents of the British administration, and we shall not be long seeking for them.

It may seem paradoxical to say that foremost among the causes contributing to such riots is the so-called religious neutrality of the British Government of which the Indian subjects have been assured in the great and gracious Proclamation, the Magna Charta of Indian liberty. Indeed, it is well that a Christian nation, called by God to rule over the destinies and mould the fates of a country separated by fifteen thousands of miles of sea and land from their own and with a large population consisting of heterogeneous peoples widely differing from one another in their social

institutions, political aspirations and religious beliefs, did not think it fair or justifiable to beat them into one homogenous nation by making Christians of them all, thus extending the banner of Christ *pari passu* with the flag of Britain. It is well too that the British Government resolved on abstaining from all interference with the religious observances and usages of its subjects professing diverse creeds and thus from being eventually tempted to throw the weight of the power of the state in favor of one of the several religions in the field to the utter discomfiture of the rest. It is well too that they have let all religions of India alone to stand or fall with the popularity of their cardinal tenets and to obey their own laws of growth and decay. So far the attitude of the British Government towards the religions professed in India has laid the followers of the various creeds under a deep debt of gratitude to it. The fact that prayers were offered in many important Hindu temples and mosques for the long life and prosperity of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Empress of India on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee is an indication as much of the heartfelt rejoicings of the Indian nation at the benefits conferred upon them by English rule as of that policy of religious non-interference followed by the British Government which made the offering of prayers in temples and mosques possible.

The principle of religious neutrality has so far been decidedly a boon. But the enunciation of such a principle with its unswerving observance has led to lamentable consequences otherwise. When it was once made known that the officers at the helm of Government were not to interfere anywise with the religious observances and usages prevalent in the country and that the subjects were at liberty to entertain any religious beliefs they chose without the apprehension of any molestation from the constituted authority of the state, the executive and the judicial officers in the Government service, sent down from England to India from time to time, easily learned to regard even a scanty knowledge of the various codes of belief followed in India as a superfluous, if not a dangerous, acquisition. What mattered it to them, bound to follow the principle of religious neutrality, how Hinduism or Muhammadanism viewed certain courses of conduct with approval or disapproval? To know even the cardinal doctrines of the various systems of beliefs might tend to prepossess them in favour of this faith or prejudice them against that

and eventually help the votaries of one faith against the followers of another. That was the very consequence which the Government wished to avert, and nothing could better conduce to the strict observance of the principle of religious neutrality than complete ignorance of even the most fundamental doctrines of the different creeds. This course, while it saved them the labour, however small, of learning anything about religions with which they were thoroughly unacquainted, promised them a surer prospect of discharging their functions satisfactorily on lines laid down by Government. Acting on this principle the officers under the Government refused to inform themselves of anything connected with the various religions, and strove to remain in utter ignorance of even their elementary principles. We can easily imagine the baneful effect that this studied ignorance on the part of such officers produced upon their administration of justice. Unscrupulous men took advantage of this ignorance which these officers in their veracity as Englishmen never cared to disguise, and actuated by motives of winning personal distinctions or by that hatred which delights in doing an injury to the enemy even without any benefit to one's self, approached these officials with loud complaints of fanciful grievances and prayed for redress. It was alleged, for instance, that the Muhammadan worshippers of a certain mosque were disturbed in the offering of prayers or were incurably hurt in their religious feelings by the God of a Hindu temple being taken in procession with music and tom-tom by the road on which the mosque opened and that as such conduct on the part of the Hindus might lead to disastrous breaches of the public tranquility the authorities should imperatively command the Hindus to stop all music just when the Hindu God in the course of the procession doubled the mosque. The followers of Hinduism made similar complaints. Now what was the Englishman-Magistrate to do? His ignorance of the tenets of Muhammadanism and Hinduism rendered it impossible for him to judge whether the Muhammadans were justified, under the accepted principles of their own creed, in complaining of the conduct of the Hindus, and whether the Hindus similarly were justified in complaining of the conduct of the Muhammadans. Nor could he afford to wait till he had sifted the truth of the allegations; for the breach of the peace was represented to be imminent. He was bound at any cost to preserve the public peace within his territorial jurisdiction. Then comes the

raw magistrate's sense of fair play to his aid. Equality, he knows or has been informed, is equity. He was therefore bound to disallow the prayers of both the factions or to grant them. This course, unfortunately, which the magistrate in his inexperience of the workings of the Indian mind pursued as best calculated to please both the contending factions, seldom pleased either: and each party made light of the victory it had won by misrepresentation and felt wounded at the concession shown to the adversary. Nor is there anything inexplicable in this fact of the dissatisfaction at the even-handed justice dealt them by the magistrate; for the unexpected withholding of privileges long enjoyed often offends more than the granting of unlooked-for concessions pleases. This dissatisfaction against the magistrate soon precipitates itself into a smouldering hatred against the party whose misrepresentation produced the undesirable effect and is against all time stored in a corner of the heart ready to blaze out at the slightest provocation.

A second circumstance which facilitates the commission of such riots is the fact that the European authorities in India have completely lost touch with the subjects over whom they rule. With absolutely no pretensions to even a smattering of the vernacular and altogether unacquainted with the ways and habits of the various kinds of people among whom their lot is temporarily cast and over whose well-being they are supposed to preside, they are generally ignorant of conspiracies hatched under their very nose and of systematic and elaborate preparations going on in their presence for riots. The practice of going about in assumed guises to ascertain the real wants and grievances of the people—a practice inaugurated by Hindu rulers and observed with real advantage by their successors—the habit of freely mingling with the subject-population and ascertaining by kind and personal investigation any causes of complaint or discontent and the habit of promptly attending to the redress of crying evils which made the names of some Englishmen in the early periods of British administration so dear to the Indian subjects, have been neglected and discontinued, and have now become an old tale. The English or European Judge or Magistrate now sent out to India does not regard this country as the land of his adoption, as his second home, as his predecessors a few decades ago did. With the immensely improved facilities of communication between India and England and with his natural disinclination to the tropical heat of sunny

India, the Englishman, old or young, goes home between the date of his appointment to the Indian service and the date of his final retirement from it—a period spanned by a few fleeting years—as often as the regulations on the subject of furlough would permit and as often as the inviting prospect of no work with munificent allowances tempts him to do so. It is no wonder that such Englishmen oscillating, as it were, between England and India and so nice in the matter of freely mingling with the Indian know more of the cool Indian sanitarium and the tigers and lions there than of the interior of their own territorial jurisdiction or of the rowdy characters that inhabit it. This attitude of Englishmen towards India and the people placed under them removes all apprehension of detection in the course of their preparations for venting their rankling discontent in dangerous riots, and the Magistrate is first aroused from his callous indifference only after much blood is spilt on both sides.

Another cause of the discontent that ripens into these riots is the inclination of the British Government to grant concessions to Muhammadans. Every well-educated Hindu, indeed, sees or ought to see that the Government in granting certain concessions to the followers of Islam is not doing so in view to drawing any invidious distinction between the two classes of its subjects, that it is not doing so to show its appreciation of the tenets of their religion, but that it is acting from mere commiseration at the intellectually backward condition of the Muhammadan community. The educational and other qualifications of the average Muhammadan do not allow him to compete with equal chances with an average Hindu, and the Government is probably painfully aware that with any concessions specially shown to him in the matter of qualifying himself to compete on equal terms with his Hindu brother, he may not be able to do so. It is but proper that the Government under the circumstances, with its catholic disposition to extend its patronage alike to all classes of people under its sway, should make much of the good points in the Muhammadan and ignore the bad in appointing him to responsible posts in the service. But it will be conceded that it is too much to expect the masses of the Hindu population to correctly diagnose the motives of the British Government in making such concessions to the Muhammadan community. To the minds of the masses the course pursued by Government appears to be

prompted, not by commiseration for the backward condition of the Muhammadan community but by a kindlier feeling on the part of the Government towards that class than to their own or even by a deliberate wish to coquette with a class admittedly possessing more of martial spirit than their own. This explanation, the only natural one under the circumstances so far as their discrimination and judgment go, imbues them with a feeling of hatred towards the more favored community, and their envy suggests to them the desirability, if they are to fill the same space in the eyes of their rulers as their brethren of the Muhammadan persuasion do, of demonstrating to their rulers that when occasion requires they can wield a club or any other offensive weapon with as much courage and ruthlessness as the Muhammadans. It may here be asked if the educated leaders of thought among the Hindu community could not counteract the growth of this mischievous tendency in the masses. But it must be remembered that such leaders are unfortunately very few and that they do not possess the necessary influence over the masses. The results of the spread of western civilisation, illustrated by the substitution of imbecile Pattamonigars and Village Kurnams in the place of the old village headmen whose word was law with the inhabitants of the village, have left the village mob without a leader by whom their erratic thoughts and movements could be controlled. Again the idea of self-sufficiency and consequent irreverence for others' views and opinions—one of the pernicious effects of Western civilisation on uneducated or half-educated minds—has blinded the eyes of the mob to 'the staid wisdom's hue' which the counsels of the educated leaders of their community always wore. The feeling of discontent created in the masses could not thus be checked by the sage advice of the handful of educated men. The growth of this disaffection could indeed be retarded to some extent, if not altogether, if the Government should condescend to publicly announce for the enlightenment of the illiterate masses, their reasons and motives for doing what the masses might naturally misconstrue into a curtailment of their privileges or an invidious distinction prejudicial to their interests. But the Government either under the impression that it owes it to itself to do what it deems fit without condescending to render any explanation to its subjects or in honest ignorance of the effect which its action might produce on the masses, has never followed this apparently easy course. The masses, therefore, uncorrected in their mistaken

appreciation of the motives by which the Government has been actuated in treating the Muhammadan community with apparent partiality, wait for an opportunity to vent their hatred of the Muhammadans and to demonstrate their martial spirit, and on the first occasion that presents itself grow disorderly and riotous.

Again another circumstance that favours the occurrence or recurrence of these disastrous riots is the wheel-within-wheel machinery of the British administration which makes prompt action in any exigency altogether impracticable. The peculiar misfortune of it is that as the machinery is constituted the authorities who are most in touch with the subject-population and have therefore the readiest means of collecting, sifting and using information in an emergency happen to be little better than mere channels of official communication furnished with no independent authority under the law to act upon such information. It is no wonder that in many instances where the lowest in the official ladder gets information of a storm brewing and forwards it with his own suggestions well calculated to avert its happening if promptly acted upon, such information having to pass through the zigzag folds of the official portfolio catches the eye of the person competent to deal with it and the suggestion thereon a good long while after that dignitary has read of the occurrence of the catastrophe and its disastrous consequences in some newspaper telegram. It is always desirable that the doctor who watches by the side of the patient and is commanded to diagnose the malady, should at least in case of emergency be authorised to prescribe on his own responsibility instead of being compelled to submit the results of his diagnosis and his intended prescription for the approval of another far removed who peruses the information submitted and only orders the same prescription to be followed. It is not far from probable that if officers of any rank nearest the place where riots were apprehended had been empowered under the law to execute their own suggestions to quell them, some at least of these much regretted riots would not have occurred.

Yet another cause of these riots is to be sought in the numerous religious and quasi-religious processions which have of late years become the fashion. The large and growing number of these processions is chiefly traceable to the right of using Her Majesty's highway for such purposes as often as one may desire at any hour of the day and with any amount of accom-

panying bustle, pomp or foolery—a right which the meanest of British subjects possesses with the highest. It is in the exercise of this right that the Muhammadans carry their God in procession through streets where all the houses on either side are occupied by Hindus and none by Muhammadans, with noisy pipes, gay colors, long cigars and boisterous effusions of devotion. It is in the exercise of this right that the Hindu carries his God in triumph doubling a Muhammadan mosque on the road, passing rather leisurely in front of it, with pipes playing, women dancing, drums beating and men sonorously chanting. Neither God considers it an insult at the hands of the other; but their followers do, whether their Gods do so or not. One party insists on the other stopping all music before the mosque or the temple as the case may be. The other party is exasperated and questions the objector's authority to question his taking his God in procession on Her Majesty's highway. They exchange words; from words they go to blows and thus without any premeditation probably on the part of either ensues a riot in which numbers may be killed, maimed or wounded on either side. It is but just that every subject of the Government should have, as such, an unquestionable right of using the highway; but there is certainly nothing unjust in imposing limitations upon this right in respect of the manner, extent or time of the user. Such limitations are imposed by the best systems of jurisprudence upon one's user of one's own private and exclusive property, and it looks rather astonishing that one should have greater rights in respect of the public highway than in respect of his own property.

Nor has the punishment provided for the commission of riots a deterrent influence on the party about to commit the offence. Not to say that men who are nerved by excitement to shed others' blood and even their own will naturally make light of a few years' hard labour, their little knowledge of law tells them plainly that one of two factions engaged in a riot comes, at the worst, no worse off than the other at the end of the trial for committing the offence. Whatever may be the law in theory, the offender well knows that practically he will not fare worse eventually than the person offended against, and this consolation, no small solace under the circumstances, is enough to make him chase away all fear of the penal law.

We have thus endeavoured with the fulness which our limited space will allow to investigate the causes of riots which

are of late becoming sufficiently numerous to attract anybody's attention. As for their remedies, the enunciation of the causes do in many instances indicate their remedies also; but we shall however suggest some remedies, not apparent from the foregoing pages, which our readers may take for what they are worth.

The first remedy we would suggest is the establishment of what may technically be termed "conciliatory boards" in or about all important religious centres where, on account of the population being composed more or less equally of people of different persuasions, the chances of religious disturbances are presumably considerable. These Boards should consist of the most liberal-minded and well-educated representatives of the different religionists composing the population and the nearest Government official empowered under the law to act independently and promptly in case of emergency. It should be the duty of these Boards to meet at regular intervals and to decide upon all questions connected with religion which, if undecided, might lead to disturbances of the public peace. The fact that the Boards are composed of representatives of different persuasions is calculated to make it sure that questions going up before it will be fully and fairly discussed. And the presence of the European Magistrate with no natural predilection for either religion gives one a reasonable assurance that, though the other members composing the Board persist in views favourable to the religionists whom they represent, the unbiassed Magistrate possessed of all information for coming to a just conclusion will throw his weight in support of the cause which he considers just. Whatever his decision, the followers of the different creeds would certainly have the satisfaction that their case has been fully represented and fairly considered, and their representatives on the Board would certainly advise strict obedience on the part of their constituents to decisions emanating from Boards of which they are members.

Should the Government apprehend any danger or inconvenience in recognizing such Boards as part of the constitution and investing them with any large powers, the end may yet be sufficiently served by recognizing them as consultative bodies to whose opinion the legally constituted authorities, empowered by law to act in such matters, should be directed to attach considerable weight. Even under this limited legislation, the contending parties would have the satisfaction that their case

has received a fair consideration at the hands of authorities, and the notion of arbitrariness and partiality attaching to such decisions and causing a good deal of heart-burning and dissatisfaction would be dispelled.

Another remedy that we would suggest is that the Government should prohibit the erection of new mosques, temples, &c., without a license obtained therefor from the Divisional Magistrate, within whose jurisdiction the new mosque, temple, &c., is to be erected. The Divisional Magistrate shall be directed to consider the following points before granting or refusing the license applied for:—(1) whether the bulk of the people living in the vicinity of the proposed site are of the same persuasion as that of the people for whose benefit the new place of worship is to be built. (2) Whether in the vicinity of the proposed site there is already in existence any place of worship resorted to by people of a different persuasion. (3) Whether it is absolutely necessary or highly desirable that the new place of worship should be erected on the proposed site in the interests of the worshippers for whose benefit it is intended. (4) Whether the chances of unpleasant collision between followers of different persuasions are materially increased by the erection of the new place of worship on the proposed site. The Divisional Magistrate should be empowered to refuse the application for license where on a consideration of these points it appears to him that the erection of the new place of worship in the proposed place is likely to lead, whether immediately or in future, to disturbances of the public peace. A right of appeal from such decision may be given to the party feeling himself aggrieved thereby, but the erection of the new place of worship without the license must be made punishable as an offence under the law.

Another remedy lies in the imposition of similar limitations on the right of people to use the highway for purposes of processions. This is admittedly an extraordinary use of the right, and can bear to be curtailed. We would however point out that any such limitations should not be imposed in respect of customary processions as that would apparently be withholding privileges long enjoyed with immunity. In respect of religious or quasi-religious processions to be started hereafter for the first time, it may be ruled that no such processions shall take place without a license from a Magistrate previously obtained; and the Magistrate should be empowered to withhold licenses

in respect of processions whose object, motives, or manner appears to him objectionable and calculated to cause a breach of the peace or wound the feelings of any religious community through whose quarters the procession must pass.

These are only some of the suggestions which we have to offer ; but as the paper has already grown too long for an article we have to conclude here, in the hope that, if need be, we may revert to this topic in another issue.

THE COMING REFORM.

LORD George Hamilton's announcement in the House of Commons that a further step in the development of the system of provincial finance was under contemplation, will be received with pleasure by all that have given any attention to the history of financial administration in India. The arrangements by which the revenues of the Empire are divided between the Government of India on one side and the Provincial Governments on the other, have been for some time receiving more than usual attention, and the responsible administrators of the provinces have expressed in emphatic terms their disapprobation of the prevailing system, and have demanded a reform which will make the financial position of the Local Governments less liable to sudden and inconvenient fluctuations. On the occasion of the debate on the financial statement in the Viceregal Council in March last, the subject was fully discussed, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, speaking for all Provincial Governments, said: "If the policy of the present day is still one of decentralization in legislation and finance, let us for any sake devise a workable scheme." "The Provincial Government", he pointed out, "is bound to justify to its local Council and the local public financial measures which it is only allowed to criticize within hard and fast limits laid down by the Financial Department of the Government of India". It would be better for both parties, he added, "were their financial relations regulated as much as possible by automatic self-acting principles." The Hon'ble Mr. Syani, the non-official member of Bombay in the Council, entered into an elaborate criticism of the system and pointed out that "the present arrangements did not tend materially to promote provincial progress as was originally intended, but on the other hand, by dissociating power from responsibility and leaving the provincial administrations with uncertain and inadequate resources to meet the requirements of their respective provinces, have simply served to bring to the Imperial Government admin-

istrative relief, and a freedom from financial anxiety in respect of internal progress." His Excellency, the Governor of Madras, speaking in his own Council, in April last, remarked that "the financial condition of the Presidency would not be satisfactory until a larger degree of financial independence and control was conceded to the Provincial Government, and until some arrangement, more consistent, more permanent and less one-sided than the present contract system, had been adopted." It was the Hon'ble Mr. Nugent of the Bombay Government that compared the Supreme Government to the Assyrian swooping down on the provincial fold. The Governor General himself spoke in favour of reform, for he said: "I think myself that it is desirable to make as much as possible of the revenue of a Local Government consist of moneys which are entirely under its own control, and it may be well worth while to consider, before the termination of the new contracts, whether the Government of India could not devolve upon Local Governments the responsibility of levying some part of the revenue which now consists of allotments from Imperial funds." Sir James Westland was not averse to a consideration of the subject, though the changes he suggested, to which we shall refer later on, indicate that he takes a narrow view of the whole question.

What is the system that has brought on itself this chorus of disapprobation, and how has it been worked? It is enough for our purpose if we begin with the system as it was introduced in an improved form by the Marquess of Ripon in 1882, and trace its operation through the three revisions it has since undergone. Under that system, a fixed permanent grant was no longer assigned to the Local Governments as a part of their resources, but, instead, they were granted the whole product of some sources of revenue, and a share in the product of others, including land revenue. In calculating the exact proportion of these various sources of revenue for the quinquennium 1882-83 to 1886-87, the Supreme Government "wished to approach the question in a liberal spirit, and not to make any revision which would "be favourable to the Imperial at the expense of the Provincial "Revenues, except in cases where this course could be adopted "without embarrassing Provincial Finance, or checking the "growth of the material prosperity of the Province." The Local Governments were, at the end of the quinquennium which closed in 1881-82, in possession of revenue which, it was esti-

mated, exceeded by Rs. 470,000 the annual cost of the services for which they were responsible, this amount, instead of being reserved and used by the Supreme Government for its own purposes, was left, in pursuance of the liberal spirit it professed, in the hands of Local Governments, and gave them a further assignment of Rs. 26,000 a year, thus providing them with a surplus of Rs. 4,96,000 a year. Rs. 3,16,000 was to be devoted to the remission of taxation in the North Western Provinces, Rs. 20,000 to Provincial Public Works in Madras, Rs. 78,000 to various purposes, of which the most important was the improvement of the position of the Subordinate Civil Service in several Provinces, Rs. 10,000 to the increase of the staff of Kanungoes in Oudh, and Rs. 72,000 to meet temporary needs in Bengal, Burma, and the North Western Provinces and Oudh.

In 1884 an important alteration was made in the system of Provincial Finance. In the three years preceding that year the Local Governments had been spending the large balances that had accumulated during the Afghan war, when the Government of India had temporarily checked provincial expenditure, and also the Rs. 6,70,000 which the Government of India had withdrawn from them during the war and had subsequently refunded. "This abnormal expenditure suggested the adoption of a measure to prevent excessive fluctuations in the finances of the Local Governments, and with effect from the 1st of April in that year, a minimum was prescribed, below which the balance to the credit of each government was not to be allowed to fall, according to the Budget Estimate".*

The term of the agreements made in 1882 came to an end in 1887, when it was found that during the quinquennium the revenues assigned to the Local Governments, which were originally calculated at Rs. 16,376,020, had yielded on an average Rs. 17,352,966 a year, while the average yearly cost of the services paid for by the Local Government, which had been calculated at Rs. 16,812,340, had really been at Rs. 17,399,398. There had thus been an average deficit of Rs. 46,432, which was met from the balances held by the Local Governments at the opening of the quinquennium. The Government of India had now to meet serious financial difficulties, due to the decrease in the gold price of silver and growth of military expenditure, and opportunity was accordingly taken to revise the arrangements to its own ad-

* Sir Henry Waterfield's memorandum, Welby Com. Rept., Vol. II. P. 46.

vantage. A committee was appointed to examine the financial position of the each Local Government, so that the Government of India might be in a position to judge more accurately than on the previous occasion of its resources and wants. The general result of the revision was to transfer an annual sum of Rs. 6,35,800 from Provincial to Imperial Revenues, the estimate being based upon the increased receipts under the different main heads, and making due allowance for increased provincial demands. Roughly speaking two-thirds of this increase went to the Imperial and the rest to Provincial Governments. It was then pointed out that under the existing arrangements the Local Governments remained free from financial straits, whilst the imperial Government was passing through a stage of acute embarrassment. A special contribution was accordingly levied from all provinces except the Panjab, amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 7,40,000, to be paid in 1889-90, although hardly eighteen months had elapsed since the last contract was settled.

How the financial situation, which rendered necessary this inroad on the finance of the Provinces, was brought about, may be referred to here as showing the temptation to pursue costly undertakings which this liability of the provincial finance always holds out to the Government of India. In the year 1888-89, notwithstanding the addition of nearly Rx. 2,000,000 that new taxation was expected to bring, a deficit was estimated for, after including in the expenditure considerable sums for special defence works and for military expeditions, which were respectively Rx. 1,121,500 and Rx. 387,500 (the latter being Rx. 142,500 for the Black Mountain Expedition, and Rx. 210,000 on account of Sikhim, besides Rx. 35,000 on account of the Lushi Expedition. On January 27th, 1888, Mr. (now Sir) James Westland summarised the financial position thus: "The fall in the value of silver, the necessity of "improving our military strength and the expenditure connected "with the occupation of a new province (Burma) had absorbed "not only the three years' improvement of Revenue, but the whole "of the margin which we possessed in 1884-85. Every rupee of "the revenue shown in the estimates of 1887-88 was pledged, as "the financial statement put it, for the necessary expenditure "arising from our administrative needs; and for the risks of war "and famine and of exchange and opium nothing whatever was "reserved. Nay, more, we were pledged to heavy expenditure

“upon the defences of our harbours and of our North-West Frontier; and this expenditure, all unremunerative as it is, was “entirely provided for with borrowed money.” It was at a critical time like this that the Government undertook military expeditions to the frontier which cost more than half the amount that was extorted from the Provincial Governments; and Upper Burma has been from the day of its annexation down to the present moment a colossal white elephant, having cost India more than fifteen crores, not to speak of the contributions which other provinces are made to make towards the improvement of this province which the people never wanted and of which they never approved of the annexation.

At the end of the quinquennium during which the arrangements made in 1887 were in force, the sources of revenue assigned to the Local Governments in 1887 increased in value by Rs. 2,042,700. But the whole of this increase was not handed over to the Provincial Governments. The average revenue of the Provincial Government during the five years ending 1886-87 was Rs. 17,352,966, whereas the average revenue during the succeeding quinquennium was Rs. 18,528,506, the improvement being Rs. 1,175,540. What became of the balance of the total improvement of Rs. 2,042,700 in the provincial sources of revenue, if it has not been appropriated by the Supreme Government? Yet, during this quinquennium, important additions were made to the revenues of the Supreme Government in the shape of fresh taxation to the extent of Rs. 2,940,000 or nearly three crores of rupees.

The terms of the contract as revised in the present year involve injustice to the older Provinces—Bengal, Madras and Bombay—and other Provinces have been helped at the expense of these advanced Provinces. In the redistribution of the resources which took place at the revision, Madras and Bombay have suffered most, whereas the Punjab, the North-West Provinces, the Central Provinces, Assam and Burma have had special help given to them. The following table shows the increase in the scale of expenditure of the different Provinces between the years 1892 and 1897.

| | Net Expenditure. | | Increase per cent. |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| | 1892. | 1897. | |
| | Rx. | Rx. | |
| Central Provinces ... | 653,300 | 710,700 | 8·8 |
| Lower Burma ... | 1,064,600 | 1,206,100 | 13·3 |
| Assam .. | 467,600 | 564,900 | 20·8 |
| Bengal ... | 2,816,700 | 3,125,500 | 10·9 |
| North-Western Provinces... | 2,215,400 | 2,428,700 | 9·6 |
| Punjab ... | 1,384,600 | 1,537,500 | 11·0 |
| Madras .. | 2,054,800 | 2,238,600 | 8·9 |
| Bombay .. | 2,409,500 | 2,544,100 | 5·6 |
| Total... | 13,066,500 | 14,355,900 | 9·9 |

The above table shows that the increase of expenditure in Bombay is the lowest, while in Madras and the Central Provinces the percentage is almost the same. But this does not show that the treatment of the latter two provinces is the same. On the other hand, in the case of Madras the increase of expenditure is only a fraction of the increase in her own revenues, whereas in the case of the Central Provinces the increase comes from general resources. "The Central Provinces have been hard hit by two or three bad seasons, and they have been disappointed in the increase of revenue which they might reasonably have expected. We found it necessary to assign to them a slightly higher amount than they would have got had the 1892

settlement continued in force. Their balance has been absorbed by their necessary expenditure somewhat exceeding their revenue, and their misfortunes of the current year have, quite apart from famine, entirely swept away their available resources. We reckon we increase their assignment by Rs. 29,200 a year; and we have also to make up a small deficit in their balance." Similarly to the Punjab and the North West Provinces increased assignments are made. In regard to the last the Finance Minister says: "We have carefully reviewed the requirements of the Province in the way of expenditure, and we have come to the conclusion that we must enhance its assignment by nearly as much again as the five lakhs by which the assignment of 1892 fell short of the admitted standard of expenditure. We have, in addition to this, made it a grant of four lakhs for the year 1897-98 to enable the Lieutenant-Governor to establish his district funds on a financially independent basis, this step which has been long ago accomplished in every other province in India, not having been yet been carried out in the North West Provinces." (In Madras the district funds have not been established from a grant from general revenues, but from the proceeds of a cess laid on the land revenue).

Although Bengal has been treated better than Bombay or Madras, yet all the three have suffered for the fault of their being comparatively wealthy and progressive. The Finance Minister wrote as follows in March last:—

"We come now to the important and wealthy maritime provinces of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, towards which the commercial wealth and the industrial progress of India tend to accumulate. To them we naturally look for obtaining the means for that redistribution of resources which, to again quote Sir E. Baring's Financial Statement of 1882, is one of the objects of the quinquennial revisions; 'It is indeed obvious,' he said, 'that, in view of the manifold demands on the Imperial treasury, and the necessity for affording relief to provinces whose means are straitened, the Government of India cannot forego all its claims on the increments of revenue which arise from the growing wealth and prosperity of the country.' The mention of the balances of the provincial account in these three great provinces, from 31st March 1892 onwards, will show that they may reasonably expect, with a slightly smaller assignment of revenue than at present, to continue their past career of financial prosperity. The balances in Bengal were, in lakhs of rupees, 23½, 22½, 26, 43, 58; in Madras 42, 26, 29, 38½, 43; in Bombay 41, 38, 40, 30, 40; and since in each case the local Government was at liberty to estimate for the expenditure of all excess over 20 lakhs, it may be taken that their present scale of expenditure is not the result of any specially enforced economy.

"We have carefully examined both the revenue and the expenditure of each of these provinces, and we propose to allow in the present assignment for the

actually existing scale of expenditure. The following figures compare the rate of growth of revenue with that of growth of expenditure :—

| | Increase of Revenue from 1892 to 1897. | Increase of Expenditure now allowed. |
|------------|---|---|
| Bengal ... | 9'6 per cent. | 10'9 per cent. |
| Madras ... | 14'9 " | 8'9 " |
| Bombay ... | 10'0 " | 5'6 " |

“As regards the effect on the provincial accounts as compared with that of a continuation of the present assignment, the facts are:—

(1) In Bengal we resume a special grant which fluctuated with the earnings of the Eastern Bengal Railway (which is not under provincial administration), and we give Rs. 269,400 in lieu of it. The railway grant was given in 1892 as the equivalent of Rs. 320,000, though, if renewed now on the same terms, it would be worth to the Lieutenant-Governor very much more.

(2) In Madras the assignment is less than that of the 1892 settlement by Rs. 98,200 or Rs. 1,38,200, according as the local Government's estimate of land revenue or that of the Government of India is ultimately adopted.

(3) In Bombay it is quite impossible to say what the difference is. If the revenue in the future is to be as seriously reduced as the Government of Bombay estimates, the new settlement is practically a continuation of the old one. But we hope, when present troubles are over, to find the standard of revenue much higher than the Government of Bombay puts it.”

The terms, as sketched above, of the so-called contract between the Supreme Government on one side and the Provincial Governments on the other at each of its revisions, will give an idea of the defects in the existing system; and they justify the discontent it has caused among all local Governments. The objections against the existing system have been well put forward by different speakers, official and un-official, in the Viceregal Council, and by the Bombay and Madras Governments separately. The uncertainty characterising the resources of the Provincial Governments under the existing system, the temptation to the Supreme Government to increase its expenditure relying on the balances of the Provincial Governments, and the sacrifice which the more advanced provinces are called upon from time to time to make for the more backward provinces, are among the chief objections to the present arrangements.

Mr. Stephen Jacob contended in his supplementary evidence before the Indian Expenditure Commission that it was not a fact that the Supreme Government took a greater proportion of the increases in the revenues than it allowed to the Provincial Governments. But his evidence does not refute the obvious infer-

ence from the following table prepared from Sir Henry Waterfield's figures placed before the Commission:—

| Year. | | Total Net Rev. | Provincial Net. | Imperial Net. |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| | | In crores of Rupees. | In crores of Rupees. | In crores of Rupees. |
| 1882-83 | ... | 41·79 | 10·98 | 30·81 |
| 1883-84 | ... | 41·66 | 10·83 | 30·83 |
| 1884-85 | ... | 41·90 | 11·62 | 30·28 |
| 1885-86 | ... | 45·43 | 12·27 | 33·16 |
| 1886-87 | ... | 44·55 | 12·12 | 32·43 |
| 1887-88 | ... | 47·37 | 12·35 | 35·02 |
| 1888-89 | ... | 46·44 | 12·52 | 33·92 |
| 1889-90 | ... | 47·34 | 13·10 | 34·24 |
| 1890-91 | ... | 45·66 | 12·64 | 33·02 |
| 1891-92 | ... | 49·50 | 13·60 | 35·90 |
| 1892-93 | .. | 52·43 | 13·40 | 39·03 |
| 1893-94 | ... | 51·87 | 13·33 | 38·54 |
| 1894-95 | ... | 52·74 | 13·13 | 39·61 |
| Increase in 1894-95 over 1882-83 | ... | 10·95 | 1·15 | 8·80 |

From this the inference is obvious that a greater proportion of the increase in the revenues goes to the Supreme Government, which uses the addition to its resources to meet the cost of the increased army and of military enterprises which have of late become too numerous and proved ruinous to our finances.

Sir James Westland says in his last financial statement that Government looks to the wealthy maritime provinces of Bengal, Bombay and Madras for obtaining the means for that redistribution of resources which is one of the objects of the quinquennial revisions. If such is the object of the quinquennial revisions, these provinces would cry, 'save us from these revisions.' There is no reason why Peter should be robbed to pay Paul; why the people of Madras should be taxed in order that Burma, Beluchistan or even the Punjab may be prosperous. The chief principle should be that each province should rely on its own resources for its advancement. It is enough that the different provinces constituting the Empire have to pay for the common needs of the Empire, for its protection against foreign invasion and for its internal peace and order, for its common indebtedness and for such other purposes as involve the common well-being of the whole.

But if the Punjab wants more money for its education, or Burma for its railways, or the Central Provinces for some other purpose, it is absolutely unreasonable that Madras, Bombay and Bengal should be made to find the money. England's Empire in Asia will go on expanding on all sides, and is the ryot of Madras to be taxed to find the cost of developing every fresh acquisition? How do the Native States develop? The Imperial Government gives them no help. For their railways, for their public works, for all the needs of their progressive administration, they find the money from their own unaided resources. Why should not the different British Indian provinces get on likewise?

The best system of Provincial Finance was indicated by Lord Elgin in the Viceregal Council and by the Governor of Madras in his own Council. Lord Elgin is of opinion that it is desirable to make as much as possible of the revenue of a Local Government consist of moneys which are entirely under its own control." Sir Arthur Havelock longs for a system which will be less onesided and will give to Local Governments more independence. More than ten years ago a system of this kind was suggested by the Finance Committee appointed by Lord Dufferin. This Committee, which consisted of Sir Charles Elliott (as President), Sir W. W. Hunter, Mr. Justice Cunningham and Mr. Justice Ranade (as Members) recommended the following proposals as an improvement on the existing system. 1. That there should be no divided departments, but that those departments of receipts and expenditure which are now wholly or almost wholly imperial or which it may be found convenient to make imperial, should be set on one side for imperial purposes, and that the receipts and expenditure of the provincialised departments should be entirely provincial. 2. That whatever the sum be by which the imperial expenditure exceeds the income from those sources of revenue which are not provincialised, that sum should be declared the first charge on the provincial revenues. 3. That the provincial surplus which arises from the excess of receipts over expenditure should be the fund from which in the first place, all imperial necessities should be met before any increase can take place in provincial expenditure. And 4. As regards the future growth of revenues, it should, as far as possible, be divided equally between Provincial and Imperial, subject to the condition that if the imperial exigencies ever required a larger share, the imperial share should be increased. This Committee further proposed that

in pursuance of this arrangement the following receipts and charges should be declared imperial: Receipts—opium, salt, customs, tributes, post office, telegraph, mint, interest or debt and superannuation; charges—state and guaranteed railways, military works, army, exchange and home charges. The Government of India was also to bear the charges and receive the revenues of the Imperial districts, *i.e.*, the parts of India which are not included in the provinces. On the other hand, the Committee proposed that land revenue, stamps, excise, assessed taxes, forests, irrigation, and the civil departments, should be wholly provincial, such heads as stationery, printing, miscellaneous and railways, canals and other public works such as were already provincial continuing to remain so.

Without endorsing these proposals in their entirety, we may state that any reform in the direction of a further development of the system of provincial finance should be based on these principles. In other words, certain sources of revenue should be declared entirely Imperial, and the Imperial Government should honestly endeavour to keep its expenditure within this amount, and any excess of unavoidable expenditure over the receipts should be met by contributions in lump sums from the different provinces. Other sources of revenue declared provincial, should be entirely under the control of the Provincial Governments, which should have, ordinarily, the full benefit of the increases from time to time. Subject to the control of the Supreme Government—a control which under any system should be fully maintained—the Provincial Governments should have power to increase or remit taxation within their own sphere.

I shall conclude this paper with a few remarks on the proposals which Sir James Westland made while speaking in the Viceregal Legislative Council in March last with a view to place the system of provincial finance on a more satisfactory basis. To these proposals Mr. Stephen Jacob referred in his supplementary evidence before the Indian Expenditure Commission, and said that though they were in an embryo state and the Government had not adopted them, they would certainly receive consideration. It is very important that these proposals should be placed before the public and that their defects pointed out. They were laid down by Sir James Westland himself as follows:

“Now it strikes me that it would be well to separate off the whole of this class of expenditure, whether it is met out of local

taxation, or whether it is, as at present, largely met out of the general revenues, into a separate account, and, in respect to that separate account, to make a permanent assignment from general revenues to the Local Government. There would be no revision wanted in a contract of that kind. If, for example, we found that we could separate off the whole of that expenditure as it stands in Bengal, we would say that for this expenditure a certain definite sum fixed once for all would be given out of general revenues, in addition to local taxation, to cover the whole amount; then we might make that portion of the account an absolutely separate one. We would treat it as a separate branch of finance under the Local Government and under the Local Councils. The result would be that the Local Councils, when they pressed, as they are constantly pressing (and I do not in the least degree wish to indicate that their action in pressing is unreasonable on their part), but when they press for expenditure of that kind they would know that they would have to find the means for it by some sort of local taxation. That is the theory of financial control and responsibility; the whole theory is that those who press for expenditure should know that they will have to bear the burden of it."

The theory, no doubt, is sound, and we think the Local Governments would be perfectly satisfied if they were given a fair scope for the exercise of the responsibility they are willing to bear. It is because they are given the responsibility for the progress and well-being of their provinces—a responsibility which has been made considerably keener since the recent reconstitution of the Legislative Councils—and are refused adequate resources to meet that responsibility from, that the existing system has caused such general dissatisfaction. Let us see whether the present proposals are calculated to do full justice to the Provincial Governments as chief guardians of the civil welfare of the population within their jurisdiction. Under the proposed arrangements the Provincial revenue and expenditure would be separated in every province into two classes, one being the general account, that is, the provincial branch of the Imperial account, and the other the Local account. In regard to the general account, the existing system will continue, that is, the revenue and expenditure represented in this account, will be subject to periodical revision as at present. But in regard to the local account, the revenue will consist of the proceeds of certain entirely local

taxes and a lump assignment from the Imperial revenues subject to no periodical increase or decrease. Local taxes are now levied for local purposes, but the Provincial revenue as well as the purely local revenue is applied for these purposes. Local Boards bear only a portion of the expenditure for medical purposes, for educational purposes, for roads, and various other things, and this is the class of expenditure, Sir James WESTLAND reminds us, in which Local Councils are most urgent. It includes a class of expenditure which is most urgent in many provinces, namely, that of sanitary improvement. But, as matters stand at present, the local taxation is nowhere equal to meet the whole of this expenditure, and the consequence is, Sir James WESTLAND points out, that when the Local Governments are pressed to find funds for this class of expenditure, they demand increased assignments from the revenues at the disposal of the Supreme Government. This Sir James WESTLAND wants to stop. If more funds be wanted, he would drive the Local Governments and Local Councils to local taxation and to increased burdens on Local Boards, the contribution from the Supreme Government for this class of expenditure being fixed and permanent.

Regarding these proposals I here content myself with the remarks I made in an article in the *Hindu*.

"Now, we must say these proposals are good so far as they go. But, they certainly do not go far enough and would not meet the objections which the Local Governments have raised against the existing system. These governments are at present responsible not merely for the class of expenditure mentioned by Sir James WESTLAND, but also for other heads of expenditure either wholly or partially, such as Land, Revenue, Stamps, Excise, Customs, Assessed Taxes, Forest, Registration, General Administration, Law and Justice, Police, Jails, Famine Relief, Irrigation, &c. And it is obvious that so far as these heads of expenditure go, the defects of the present system will remain, under Sir James WESTLAND's proposals, unremedied. In calculating however the expenditure in which Local Governments are pressed by local public opinion for constant increase, we do not think Sir James WESTLAND has erred on the side of liberality. The local public are no doubt deeply interested in expenditure on Education, Medical Relief and Sanitation, but they are equally interested in a cheap and improved system of judicial administration, in an honest and efficient Police, in a popular system of Forest administration, in prompt and effective measures of relief in times of famine which unfortunately recur at short intervals, and in the extension of a certain class of irrigation works. The Local Governments should be placed in possession of funds sufficiently elastic for these purposes; and in regard to these as well as the others indicated by Sir James WESTLAND, these Governments should be given greater independence. The fixed assignment in a lump, as proposed by the Finance Minister, would be, we suppose, available

only for the purposes specified, and the Local Government will have its scope considerably narrowed for the efficient discharge of its general responsibility. The proposals would have the effect of the Local Government being constantly tempted to have recourse to increased taxation, while it will have no scope for counteracting, by remission of taxation, the unpopularity it will necessarily incur. Increased expenditure can be met, not merely by adding to the burden of taxation, but by effecting economies and adopting retrenchments in expenditure. The proposals under consideration place at the disposal of the Local Government the odious method, that of adding to the burden of taxation, but withholds the other two popular means of finding money. The radical defect in Sir James WESTLAND's plan is, that he assumes that it is the Provincial Governments that require to be checked against thoughtlessly increasing their expenditure. But, as a fact, these Governments are more amenable to public opinion and command greater confidence. The people understand better the purposes for which Local Governments spend money, and are therefore in a better position to pass effective criticisms on these branches of local administration. It is not therefore the Local Governments, but it is the Supreme Government that is in need of the check which an improved system of financial administration will impose on the expenditure of public funds. Instead of the Provincial Governments receiving, in addition to certain sources of revenue declared wholly provincial, a fixed grant in lump from the Supreme Government, it is to the latter that a system of this kind should be made applicable, so that whenever it makes up its mind to glorify itself by costly military enterprises, it should have no resource but borrowing or additional taxation to fall upon; should have no famine protection fund to misappropriate, no provincial balances to sweep away, and as few heads of expenditure as possible to contract in order to squeeze out the required money."

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

THE "RAGHUVAMŚA OF KALIDASA."

IT has occurred to me, on a perusal of the learned and thoughtful article on "Kâlidasa" which appeared in the last number of the *Madras Review*, to write a short descriptive account of the work "Raghuvamśa," which is acknowledged by all competent scholars as the best production of "Kâlidasa" in the domain of poetry. The literary reputation of "Kâlidasa" as the foremost poet of our classic land of Arya-Varta, is too well known to Hindu scholars to need any lengthy discussion, but as truly observed by the writer of the article aforesaid, this poet of peerless intellect, "the chosen favourite of the Divine Saraswati," has not received from oriental scholars who are not Hindus, the full measure of literary commendation which is justly his due. Any contribution, however humble, to the existing critical literature on the subject of the poetic supremacy of Kâlidasa must, therefore, be a matter of some interest and importance. The works of "Kâlidasa" are a veritable mine of literary wealth in which thoughts, the most sublime, and diction, the most charming, lie imbedded side by side to delight and enlighten the privileged few who are able to dive into them sufficiently deep. Indeed, a single verse of Kâlidasa very often displays ethical and moral wisdom such as is calculated to do honor to a host of modern poets.

It is chiefly in his descriptions of natural objects and scenes, and the tender sentiments of the human heart, that his admirable poetic powers are seen at their best. Like Wordsworth, he looked upon Nature with the eye of a lover, and his knowledge of the physical laws under living Nature was superior to that of any other Hindu poet. Megha-duta, Kumara Sambhava, Sakuntala and Raghuvamśa contain passages in them, which display a knowledge of natural history, highly creditable to the acuteness of the Hindu intellect. These works are also living monuments of Kâlidasa's unrivalled powers of delineation of human character and sentiments. Of these works, the foremost place must be assigned to "Raghuvamśa," alike for the grandeur of its subject matter and for its artistic beauty. It is a historical poem of 19 cantos describing the history of the "*Raghuvamśa*,"

i. e., the kings of the solar dynasty beginning with Dileepa and ending with Agnivarna. The period covered by the history is not a long one being only the reign of a few kings, but the poet, by the amplitude of his descriptions of scenes and events, and his wealth of illustrations and similes interspersed with ethical and philosophic reflections, has made it pretty long in narration. Shortly stated, the outline of the history is as follows :—

In the Solar Dynasty of Hindu kings, descended from the celebrated Menu (Vyvaswata), was Dileepa; a king adorned by all the best qualities which make a successful ruler. Though blessed with all the most desirable earthly possessions, one important factor was still wanting to fill up the full measure of his happiness as a devout Hindu; and that was, the birth of a son. Smarting under this affliction of "soulessness" (Anapathiam) which to a Hindu is pregnant with dire consequences, he accompanied by his Royal spouse went to the holy hermitage of his "Kulaguru," the great "Vasishta," and besought him to remove this affliction by means of his psychical powers. Vasishta by his "Pranidhanam" (introspective contemplation) understood the true cause of the king's "soulessness" to be a curse hurled at him by the celestial cow, "Kamadhenu," and accordingly instructed the king, in expiation of the sin incurred by him, to propitiate "Kamadhenu," and failing her, her offspring "Nandini." Kamadhenu not being then available, Nandini was given by Vasishta to the king, and the latter was enjoined, by means of dutiful service and respectful worship, to propitiate her and to secure her blessings. Accordingly, this great king, the wearer of a mighty diadem, tended the celestial calf (Nandini) in the forest for some days assuming the humble "role" of a faithful servitor; and anxious to please her by indefatigable services most respectfully rendered. Nandini, after trying his mettle by means of "coup-de-main" cleverly arranged, was at the end convinced of the unfeigned sincerity of the king's respect and devotion towards her, and she gave him her blessings for the birth of a son. The king's wife, the Royal "Sudekshina" conceived soon after, and gave birth to a son, and that was "Raghu," one of the greatest and most famous kings of the Solar Dynasty. When Raghu attained majority, king Dileepa conferred upon him the functions of a "Yuvaraj," and with the help of the latter's extraordinary valour and martial qualities; achieved the rare honor of performing 99 "yagas" approaching the glory of Indra ("Sathakrethu").

in this respect. When he grew old, Dileepa, in accordance with the traditionary usage of his race, installed his son "Raghu" on the throne, and betook himself with his wife to a life of holy retirement in the forest ("Vanaprastham") with a view to spend the evening of his virtuous life in divine contemplation and piety, free from the cares and turmoils of the busy world. Raghu, soon after he became king, went on a glorious expedition of conquest round the world (Dig-Vijayam), and invaded not only the important kingdoms of Hindustan, but also foreign countries. Returning in triumph from his military expedition with a vast horde of wealth and a large number of vanquished kings following his chariot-wheels, he celebrated a great "Yagam" (Viswajit), and in accordance with the injunctions of Dharma Sastras, spent the whole of the wealth acquired by means of his military conquests, in pious and charitable gifts connected with that "yagam." So completely did he, by means of his gifts, deprive himself of all his wealth in the pursuit of virtue, that when "Koulsa," an ascetic student, paid him a visit afterwards soliciting a gift, he, the whilom conqueror of mighty kings, had only a *mud* vessel in his possession to honor his guest with. When the hermit urged his request for a gift and explained its urgency, the king showed by his conduct his heroic and sublime character. He at once went to *Kubera*, the celestial lord of wealth, and by dint of his universally acknowledged prestige, got from him (*Kubera*) wealth more than sufficient to satisfy Koulsa's wants a hundred-fold; and at this display of the king's superhuman ability and magnanimity, Koulsa was filled with wonder and astonishment. Overwhelmed with joy and gratitude, he gave the king his blessings for the birth of a worthy son. Shortly afterwards was born "Aja," the worthy son of a worthy father. He married "Indumathi," the daughter of the king "Viderbhas" in a "Swayamvaram" (selection of husband by the bride according to her own fancy). In the description of this "Swayamvaram," Kâlidasa has shown to the best advantage his inimitable powers of delineation of human character and physical loveliness. After the marriage of "Aja," Raghu, who had by that time attained old age, full of honors and virtue, delivered the reins of Government into the hands of "Aja" and, agreeably to the traditions of his noble ancestors, betook himself to a life of religious devotion. "Aja" then ruled the kingdom, and to him was born "Dâsaradha," the father of "Sri-Rama" of glorious renown.

Aja soon afterwards lost, in an accident, the beloved partner of his joys and sorrows, the lovely "Indumati," and his heart-rending lamentations over her untimely death are described by Kâlidasa with such exquisite pathos and in such tender language, that no reader possessed of human heart can fail to give them the tribute of a sympathetic tear. The passages which describe the inconsolable grief felt by Aja, and the tender outpouring of his heart are among the finest in the Sanscrit literature. Though broken-hearted by the sad bereavement which befell him, Aja did not relax his undivided attention to the affairs of the kingdom, but on the other hand, his affliction only tended to make him still more attached to his subjects, and mindful of their welfare. After his death, his son Desaradha succeeded him on the throne. The history of Desaradha and of his son "Sri-Rama" is well known to the reading public by the great epic poem of "Ramayana," and I think it unnecessary, therefore, to discuss here that portion of the story of "Raghuvamsa" which is covered by the "Ramayna". It is enough to observe, 'en passim', that there are passages in the chapters relating to the history of Desaradha and Rama which, in point of beauty and majesty, can challenge a comparison with the best productions of western poets. Rama, after returning from his conquest of Lanka, ruled his kingdom for sometime with splendour and glory worthy of his divine character, and in the society of his gentle and affectionate wife, the illustrious "Sita," enjoyed the highest possible human happiness, combined with virtue. But after some years, when he had reason to think that his duty as a king required his separation from "Sita," he, with a degree of mental strength and self-sacrifice truly heroic, showed himself equal to the painful step of banishing her. Sita after her banishment lived for some time in the 'Asraman' (hermitage) of the renowned Rishi, "Valmiki," and gave birth to two sons, Kusa and Lava; and after a time, Rama, smarting under the pain of separation from her, and oppressed by remorse, invited "Sita" to re-join him; but she, high-souled and magnanimous, deemed it improper to again vex her lord on her account, and accordingly, made her exit from the theatre of life in a manner truly superhuman. Rama lived for some years more, governing his kingdom in accordance with the best tenets of the Dharma Sastras, and then departed this life. With the demise of Rama began the decline of this renowned dynasty. Rama was succeeded on his throne by his son "Kusa," a valiant virtuous king; but Kusa's suc-

cessors were mostly rulers of indifferent capacity and merit. No less than 24 kings, descended from *Kusa*, are mentioned in this poem ; and of them, the only one worthy of remark is *Sudersana*, a king of extraordinary accomplishments, personal and intellectual. His son, "*Agnivarna*" with whose reign the poem ends, was a perfect sensualist whose only purpose in life was the enjoyment of luxuries. In describing the life of this "epicurean" king, Kâlîdasa displays his profound knowledge of the treacherous blandishments of sensual pleasures and of the baneful effects produced by them. In the case of this king, his constant revery in the "illusory paradise of sensual gratifications" brought on its sure reward, "*Rajayakshma*" (consumption). On the death of "*Agnivarna*" the crown descended to his queen who ruled the kingdom well. Here the poem ends.

Having thus sketched a brief outline of the story narrated in the "*Raghuvamsa*," I shall now proceed to discuss briefly a few of the leading chapters in it which are of special importance by reason either of their literary excellence or of their ethical teachings and historic importance. The first chapter which describes the character of king Dileepa, and the story of his life down to the time of his visit to his "*Kula-guru*" Vasishta, is a literary gem of unrivalled beauty. Couched in *slokams* simple but effective, it is the repository of descriptions, the most graphic, and thoughts, the most majestic. The chapter opens with an extremely graceful and modest expression of diffidence regarding the poet's capacity to do justice to the subject chosen by him, and the 2 similes employed by the poet in illustration of his point are so apposite and forcible that they have passed into the rank of "*bon mots*." Then the poet proceeds to give a description in general of the illustrious character of the kings of the "*Raghuvamsa*," their purity, moral grandeur, personal accomplishments, and virtue. The four small *slokas* which contain this description are a model of literary terseness and condensation. In this sacred line of noble kings was born Dileepa, a glorious specimen of his race. The qualities and disposition of king Dileepa are so beautifully described by the poet that the description may well fit the greatest hero the world has produced. A man of noble stature, of broad breast, thick-set shoulders, and long arms, with perfect control over his body and mind, he was the embodied quintessence of majesty and splendour. The common saying that the body is an index of the mind was very well illustrated in the

person of this king. "His mental accomplishments were on a par with his bodily accomplishments, his intellectual attainments were worthy of his high mental powers, his actions did credit to his learning, and the grandeur of his achievements was in keeping with the nobility of his actions." In the words of the poet, his character as a king was compounded of two opposite qualities, *viz.*, awe inspiring majesty, and attractive amiability ; and accordingly, his subjects both feared and loved him. The subjects over whom he ruled and not merely reigned, obeyed with unswerving loyalty the ordinances laid down by Menu, the founder of his dynasty, and they followed the course of conduct prescribed by his Royal will with the undeviating exactitude with which the "wheels of a chariot follow the course chalked out by the charioteer." This simile is a happy one, and shows the unquestioning obedience which the people paid to their Ruler, and the charming identity of interests and thoughts which existed between them. "By the education, training, and protection which he lavished upon his subjects" he placed himself in 'loco parentis' towards his people, leaving to their natural fathers the empty honor of being the cause of their birth (Jenma-hethu)." He was endowed with the best of qualities, both as a king and as a man. As a man he possessed in a remarkable degree the noble virtue of self-restraint, benevolence and moderation, combined with a lofty disdain of the blandishments of sensual pleasures and of the vanity of human life. Though learned, he was lowly ; though great, he was patient and forbearing, and though munificent in his charities, extremely modest and self-denying. In a word, his motto was "plain living and high thinking." As a king he was possessed of all the arts of state-craft which conduce to successful government, and his personal government of the kingdom was bottomed upon the noble maxim of polity that the king exists for the people. He levied contribution (tax) from his subjects simply for the purpose of expending it upon them for their improvement ; and in this respect, the poet compares him to the sun, who drawing to himself by means of his rays aqueous vapour from all watery surfaces on the face of the earth, discharges it again upon the earth in the form of rain caused by clouds, with a view to fertilize the soil and thereby afford sustenance to the people. This illustration is a charmingly appropriate one, as it brings out very graphically the noble conception that, like the sun who for the

benefit of the world gives out to the earth what he takes from it, a king who administers the affairs of his people should raise taxation from his people only for their good, and that whatever is taken from them in the shape of taxation should be wholly expended in their improvement. This illustration of the sun and his function in the wise economy of Nature has been employed by the poet in many places, in speaking of the spirit of self-denial and altruism characteristic of great minds, and it lays down the noble maxim that a king should administer the affairs of his subjects with a single eye to their good, and with no thought of personal benefit.

King Dileepa went to the "Asramam" of Vasishta accompanied by his Queen Sudekshina, and the description of the manner in which the journey was performed, and of the reception at the hermitage shows that in ancient times the "Gosha" system was unknown among ladies of noble birth among the Hindus. The holy hermitage of Vasishta as described by the poet is a blessed haven of peace, godliness, and purity, characterised by bliss and simplicity truly arcadian. The scene between king Dileepa and the sage, Vashista, affords evidence of the superhuman physical powers possessed by the divinely inspired Rishis of old, and the great good which, by their virtuous acts of transcendental merit, these great masters of humanity were the means of doing to the country at large. In describing the conversation between Vasishta and the king, the poet designates the latter as "Rajiasrama Muni" (a royal hermit having his kingdom for his hermitage), and this designation is very significant as showing the virtue, purity and peace, which reigned over the kingdom during his administration. The lowliness and humility which should characterize Royalty in the presence of its spiritual Guru is well brought out by the poet in the concluding stanzas of this character. It is there said that after Vasishta dismissed the king for the night, a cottage made of leaves was shown as his resting place, and there the king with his Royal lady was content to spend the whole night reposing upon the bare ground overgrown with Kusa grass.

The second chapter relates the story of the king's devoted services to the celestial cow, "Nandini," and of the blessings which he eventually secured from her as the result of a long course of dutiful attendance and respectful worship. The passages which describe this story teem with incidents who show the mag-

nanimity and heroism of the king. The most remarkable among them is the encounter with the pseudonymous lion, "Kumbhodaran." The lion, seizing upon the celestial cow while grazing in the forest, threatens to devour it, and then the king, unable by a miraculous accident, to use his weapon, and overcome by grief, offers to give himself as sacrifice instead of the Cow, whose release he solicits. The lion then uses all manner of arguments to make him give up his offer, but the king, with true heroism, refuses to budge an inch from his fixed resolve to save the cow at the risk of his own life. At this display of the king's wonderful magnanimity, the celestial cow, who had skilfully "improvised" this counterfeit lion, to test the extent of the king's devotion and attachment to her, discovers herself; and gives him, with her milk, the blessing for a son. In the passage which describes this are used two words "Shashtâmsam Urvia," which show that in ancient times Hindu kings levied only a sixth-share of the produce of the land in the shape of tax from the subject population. This expression "Shashtâmsam, which is found also in the "Sakuntala," is of considerable historical importance.

The third chapter begins with a graceful description of the pregnancy of Queen Sudekshina. Here the poet has displayed a good deal of his physiological and astrological knowledge. His description of the festivities which took place on the auspicious occasion of the birth of "Raghu" affords evidence of the existence of the class of dancing girls in those days, and of the practice of releasing prisoners from jail on occasions of joyful domestic events in the family of Hindu kings. Prince "Raghu," possessed of extraordinary accomplishments, both personal and mental, was the very model of a prince, and his valour and prowess were of the highest order. In due course he succeeded his father on the throne, and soon afterwards, impelled by a love of glory worthy of his power and military genius, he set out on a conquest of the world (Digvijiam) with a vast and mighty army. On his triumphal march he, by the vast military resources at his disposal, converted deserts into navigable rivers and opened up forests. Having reduced the countries of Scinde and "Vanga" and planted his "Jaya-stambhom" (banner of victory) there, he crossed the river "Kapisa" by means of a bridge made of live elephants and went into the country of "Kalinga" (probably the modern Calingapatam) and met the lord of "Mahendragiri" (probably the modern Rajamundry). Having

conquered that country, and restored it to its Ruler when the latter did homage to him, he continued his march in a southern direction to the region watered by the Cauvery, and after encamping on the valley of the "Malayadri," famous for its cinnamon and sandalwood forests, descended upon the plains and invaded the country of the "Pandya" king. In the passage which describes this invasion the poet alludes to an astronomical principle of some importance, *viz.*, that during the period of "Dekshinayanam," the sun's rays are of less than average power. The lords of the "Pandya regions" (probably Madura and Tinnevely) propitiated the king, when he approached the river "Thamraparni," with a vast treasure of pearls taken from the adjacent sea, and acknowledged his suzerainty. This allusion to "pearls" shows that so far back as the time of Kalidâsa the sea near Tuticorin was famous for its pearl fishery. He then crossed the mountains, "Malaya and Durdura," and reached the "Sahyadri" (the Western Ghauts). In speaking of the Western Ghauts and the country situated between them and the Arabian Sea (the country of Keralam), the poet alludes to the legend of "Parasu Rama's" reputed creation of "Keralam" out of the bowels of the sea, and this is of considerable historic importance on a much-debated question. This allusion shows that the tradition which connects Parasu Rama with the creation of Keralam was known to the people of Upper India in ancient times, and that, in spite of mythological exaggerations, the tradition is founded upon some basis. It is quite conceivable that by some scismic occurrence, turned to useful advantage by the valour and genius of this mighty hero (Parasu Rama), a recession of the sea resulting in a tract of "terra-firma" was brought about. Crossing the Western Ghauts, Raghu descended upon Keralam. In describing Keralam, the first allusion made by the poet is to its women and their personal embellishments. Then the poet alludes to a long river called "*Murala*" studded with "Ketheki" flowers of exquisite fragrance. It is not easy to fix the identity of this river beyond dispute, but some are of opinion that it is the modern "Bharathapuzha." From Keralam Raghu went to the country of "Parasikas" (probably Persia), and to the country of "Yavanas." The people there are described as a race of men with long beards and whiskers. After a sanguinary fight, they surrendered themselves and acknowledged Raghu's supremacy. Returning thence, he crossed over to Cashmere, the country of

"musk and honey," and after conquering it and the neighbouring country of the "Kamarupas," and exacting tribute therefrom, returned to his own country after a long and victorious campaign.

The next remarkable incident in the reign of this powerful and famous king is the "Swayamvara" marriage of his son, prince Aja, with the sister of the king of "Vidarbha." This "Swayamvara" system of marriage which, in ancient times, obtained largely in Hindu Royal families is an institution of much social and historical importance, and as such, it deserves some notice here. The salient features and incidents of a "Swayamvara" marriage as described by the poet are as follow :—When a maiden in a Royal family attains marriageable age, her Royal guardian decides upon a Swayamvara marriage for her and issues a general proclamation notifying the fact. He also invites, for the purpose, a select number of princes from such of the Royal families as deserve the honor of a special invitation. All the princely guests thus brought together in the Royal family of the maiden are duly welcomed with suitable honors and accommodated in ornamental tents ("Patabhavanom") where they enjoy munificent hospitalities. On the day appointed for the "Swayamvaram," all the Royal guests are accommodated with cushioned seats in a beautifully decorated amphitheatre, and after all of them have taken their seats, heralds appointed for the purpose proclaim the lineage and ancestry of the Royal princes assembled ; and then, amidst the flourish of trumpets, the sweet sound of "Mangala Vadium," the fragrance of burning incense and the fluttering of the banner, the Royal maiden who is to select her "lord of beauty and of love" is ushered in, borne upon a gilt palanquin resting upon the shoulders of liveried retainers. She of course becomes the "cynosure" of all princely eyes, and accompanied by a maid-of-honor well versed in the history of the various princes, she is then carried past the seats of all the assembled princes. As she nears each seat, the maid-of-honor describes to her the qualities and accomplishments of the prince sitting on it, and in this way the palanquin of the Royal maiden is taken round the seats of all the assembled princes. Among them, the maiden selects the prince who captivates her fancy, and in tangible token of her selection, she puts upon his neck a garland of flowers (Varana-Mâla). The selection being over, the happy bridegroom-elect is taken inside the palace, and adorned with vestments appropriate to the occasion, the couple then go

through the religious ceremonies awaiting them in the hymeneal "Mandapom," such as circumambulating the sacrificial fire, throwing fried rice therein, &c. This done, the bride and the bridegroom take their seat together on a golden throne, amidst the benedictions and congratulations of relatives and friends, and the ceremony is then complete.

In the tenth chapter which treats of the history of king "Dasaradha" the son of Aja, there is a very beautiful and highly philosophic description of the hymns of praise addressed by the 'Devas' to Maha Vishnu when they went to him to solicit the destruction of the mighty Ravana, the unconquered devastator of the three worlds. The terms in which the hymns are couched breathe the grandest and purest thoughts of religion and philosophy; and show that the Hindu conception of cosmogony is one of the noblest attained by man, and that the Hindu religion, in its basic principles, is one of the most Catholic and tolerant in the world. In proof of the enlightened spirit of toleration which characterizes the fundamental conceptions of Hindu religion, I may set out here the translation of one of the slokas composing the hymns. "The paths which lead to human salvation, though diverse and divided into many, by different systems of religion and philosophy, all lead up to Thee and end in Thee, as the stream of the Ganges, divided in its course in various directions, finally reaches, and empties itself into the great ocean." This conception that the end and aim of all religions is the same and that the universal Lord is the Lord of all religions, shows that the "Vedanta" philosophy of the Hindus is a philosophy of universal love and toleration.

The 11th and 12th chapters of the poem narrate the history of Rama, and of his many acts of valour and prowess, culminating in the destruction of Ravana and the conquest of Lanka. In these chapters there are many passages of surpassing beauty and elegance both of diction and of thought, but it is impossible to do justice to them by a cursory notice at the fag end of a review article. The most remarkable passages in the 13th chapter are those which describe the return journey of Rama from Lanka accompanied by Sita. In the course of their journey in the "Pushpaga Vimanam" (chariot), Rama describes to Sita the important scenes and sceneries on the way, with special reference to their past life of wedded bliss and their subsequent life of painful

separation. Some of these passages are of unrivalled excellence, and breathe the purest sentiments of conjugal love and affection.

One of the most remarkable things that strike an intelligent reader of "Raghuvamsa" is the knowledge of natural history and human character which the author displays in it, and the side light which it throws upon some of the most important social usages and institutions of ancient India. The information which this work affords us regarding the flora and fauna of India and of the system of Government and social polity which obtained in ancient times, is interesting and instructive. The ethical and philosophical maxims laid down in it and the moral lessons inculcated by it are of high value and importance. In short Raghuvamsa is a poem calculated, at once, to delight and invigorate the mind. It is distinguished from other "Kaviams," not only by superior loftiness of conception and grandeur of execution, but also by beauties of diction and style altogether unrivalled. Such a production, so remarkably excellent from every point of view, is worthy of the profound attention of all lovers of sound literature

T. V. ANANTAN NAIR.

AGRICULTURAL BANKS FOR MADRAS.

THE report on Land and Agricultural Banks for the Madras Presidency written to the order of the Madras Government by F. A. Nicholson, Esq., I. C. S., has been lying before us for a considerable time. We offer our apology to Mr. Nicholson for this delay. In one sense we are glad that, we took a pretty long time to notice this production, considering, that it is the only work of its kind amongst the so-called Blue-Book series of the Government which treats fully, accurately, and dispassionately some of the important aspects of the Rural Economy of this Presidency. Indeed, it may be said that it is the first attempt on the part of the Government to ascertain in a rational manner the economic condition of the peasantry of this Presidency. That the report has been eminently successful goes without saying, for, it has been a foregone conclusion that when the work of investigating the various systems of rural credit prevalent in the Presidency, and the *possibility* of introducing Credit Banks was entrusted to the author of the "Coimbatore Manual," the work could not have been placed in better hands. Lord Wenlock's Government, therefore, deserves the thanks of all lovers of Agriculture, for having initiated the movement, in connection with one of the most important ways of improving the Agriculture of this Presidency, for selecting the only officer competent to investigate the subject. Emile-de-Laveleye, one of the greatest of modern writers on Economics, more especially on Rural Economics, says somewhere in his writings that the prosperity of an Agricultural community might be gauged by the presence of professional money-lenders amongst them. In fact the prosperity of one will be in an inverse ratio to that of the other. Sir James Caird, the President of the Indian Famine Commission of 1877 calls the village usurer "the product of a diseased state of society." It is not too much to say that Mr. Nicholson has made an honest attempt to place before the public the real state of rural indebtedness in this Presidency, and a carefully thought out plan, to relieve the rural population from this indebtedness, which should certainly be ranked amongst those schemes of *constructive* statemanship which a foreign and a beaurocratic Govern-

ment like the one we have in India seldom finds opportunities of carrying into practical use.

The Report before us is, as the author explains, a "compilation from numerous works and reports of Europe and America." But, what a compilation! We have had the pleasure of reading some of these reports in the original, and we might say without flattery that the copy beats the original. The mass of works Mr. Nicholson had to digest before he began his compilation was so multifarious and huge in volume, and so complicated in structure that we could but view with wonder, the patience, courage, and scholarship displayed through the more than four hundred pages of the Blue-Book lying before us.

The one lesson that has been persistently brought to prominence in this report, is, that the Agricultural population, all the world over, are of the same ilke, that they are subject to the same economic laws, and that the remedy that was patiently initiated, and successfully carried out in one country might with advantage be adopted in other countries as well.

Within the last one hundred years Europe has been an object lesson to the rest of the world in all that constitutes the true progress of humanity, whether in industrial arts, social economics, or intellectual achievements. She shows her superiority not only in the modern arts and sciences, but even in the most ancient art of arts, the art of agriculture, and she has, with an unerring eye detected where the faults lay, and how they are to be remedied. Nay more, she has, within the last 50 years successfully carried out schemes which to a great extent liberated the peasantry from a thralldom which for centuries have been eating their vitals. To study these schemes, to adopt them to the requirements of the Indian peasantry, has been the work of Mr. Nicholson, and well might he be proud of his achievement.

The changes that took place in the rural economy of India, after the advent of the Mohamedan and other conquerors were similar to the changes that took place in Europe after the middle ages when the Church and State assumed pretensions which they did not enjoy before. The change in the rights of property hath had its counterpart in the change that took place in the rights of individual liberty. The one was correlated to the other. It is no exaggeration to say that the spirit of *individualism* with its watchword "the freedom of contract" that kept Europe in complete sway for a considerably long period has had the effect of

paralysing all the energy of those individuals that were hardly able to stand on their own legs. The result was a thorough breaking up of those ancient village institutions which stood as a rampart against the incursions of those piratical individuals who come as friends of the peasantry in the guise of money-lenders.

It has been proclaimed, that the money-lenders are a necessary evil, that they are the outcome of the inevitable law of *supply* and *demand*, and that any attempt to interfere with the ordinary run of business transactions in a community by wise legislation would be the introduction of the thin end of the wedge of "socialism," &c., &c. All this clap-trap nonsense has had a very serious effect for a considerable time on the prosperity of a community that cannot live "on supply and demand," but, fortunately, a few thoughtful and philanthropic men of Europe saw through the whole game, and determined, about fifty years ago, to give the lie to this "dismal science" by practically carrying out measures for the amelioration of the peasantry. Their object was not "to place society on an intellectual basis," but on the more solid basis of humanity. They realised once for all that *co-operation* and not *competition* should be the basis of their operations. They realised further that *honesty* should be *capitalised*, and that *avarice*, *discounted*. The fight was *individualism* versus *collectivism*. *Competition*, the watchword of *individualism* is gradually giving way to *co-operation* the watchword of *collectivism*. The recognition of trade unions as a legitimate combination on the part of workers, the establishment of Friendly Societies under the fostering care of State supervisions, the passing of Factory Acts for the benefit of the labouring classes, are, all movements more or less of a socialistic nature wherein the limits of individualism with its iron law of freedom of contract have been curtailed to a considerable extent. While the workers in other fields have been making tremendous strides in various ways, those employed in the art of cultivating the soil have been slow to adopt measures for their betterment. This was due to the condition of the rural classes in Europe 50 years ago. They were, not, and are not in most cases even now, of that advanced character which is associated with the European nations in their commercial, industrial, educational, literary, and political aspects. The masses of the "peasantry were, and to a great extent still are, ignorant, suspicious, conservative, isolated, and poor; holding land in

small and diffused patches; exploited by usurers; hide-bound by custom; incapable of associated effort; unable to comprehend, and unwilling to adopt new methods however useful, new improvements however obvious." This description of the peasantry of Europe 50 years ago exactly corresponds to the conditions of the Madras peasantry, now prevailing, whether in the tenure of land, in the prevalence of indebtedness, in the rapacity of the usurer, or in the inability on the part of the peasants to combine for mutual help. It, therefore, becomes all the more important that we should familiarise ourselves, first, with the means adopted in Europe for relieving the impecunious peasant, and for teaching them self-help, thrift, and co-operation, before we attempt any *positive* measures for ameliorating the condition of the peasantry of Madras. Mr. Nicholson accordingly begins with a history of the development of Credit Banks in Europe for the benefit of those connected with land.

Credit is classified under three heads: Real, Chattel, and Personal, correlated to Land, Goods, and 'character,' the capital on which credit could be obtained. The institutions for these three classes are respectively: (1) the Land Banks of Germany, Austria, and France, with the Building Societies of England and America; (2) The *Monts de Piété* of France; and (3) the Popular Banks and Credit Unions of Germany and Italy. The Land Banks are properly Land Mortgage Banks, not of the sort we meet with in India, but real Land Mortgage Banks instituted for the sole purpose of saving real large estates and not to swallow them up. Banks of this description were first started in Prussia under the ægis of the Great Frederick for relieving large proprietors. They will be of great service in this Presidency for preserving the ancient Zemindaries from being eaten up by speculative money-lenders. But they do not touch the great masses of the peasantry and the artizan classes, the same that stand in incessant need of borrowing. The second class representing the *Monts de Piété* are pawn-broking institutions more or less municipalised where a needy artizan could get money at a very low rate of interest. Indeed it may be said that these institutions with ramifications all over France have practically rooted out usury, and that adventurous class of Jews that do a roaring trade in London in small loans at high rates of interest is a rare being in France. Side by side with the *Monts de Piété* of France, are the *Monti Frumentarii* of Italy

and the Positos of Spain, institutions both ancient and beneficial for the rural population, institutions somewhat on the lines of 'takkavi' once common in India as State advances for "the immediate needs of the cultivation season, which are now solely supplied by the village money-lender." We regret to notice that Mr. Nicholson has not given us, a historic account of the rise and decline of this system, nor could we find any argument in his report why the "takkavi" should have bifurcated into the Land Improvement Loans, and Agriculturists' Loan Acts. According to the author, it was the "zeal for scientific, or supposed scientific improvements," characteristic of the 19th century that brought the "takkavi" into disrepute; and yet Mr. Nicholson has no sympathy with the recommendations of the Famine Commissioners for establishing granaries, for, he coolly dismisses them on the score of being novel. That the "takkavi" has a long case of life, even under a metamorphosed state, was recently shown by a writer in "The London Times," that the Land Banks started in Mysore were but the "takkavi" of old, so common in India during the pre-British period. Whether the conclusions of this whilom writer of "The Times" were correct, or, not, there remains the fact that the old "takkavi" rises now and then like the phoenix of old from its ashes with renewed vigour. It would therefore have been a piece of historical and economical study if Mr. Nicholson had fully treated this "takkavi" system in all its bearings, for we hold, that the systems that Mr. Nicholson recommends as being most successful in dealing with the peasant farmers of Europe are but a development of the old "takkavi" systems and that the European systems could well have been engrafted on to the stock of the "takkavi." In Mr. Nicholson's opinion the banks that have been most popular and successful in Europe in dealing with the peasant population have been those known as "Popular Banks."

These are of three great classes, *viz.*, those following the system of Schulze-Delitzsch, of Luzzati and of Raiffeisen. These are strictly speaking co-operative banks, and not on the joint-stock principle, and their phenomenal success within a very reasonable short time shows that the true remedy for rural indebtedness lies not in the spirit of *competition* but in *co-operation*.

The major portion of Mr. Nicholson's report deals with the three sorts of banks mentioned above, and their adaptability to

the requirements of South India. Of those the first and the last are of German origin. It is a strange coincidence that Germany, of all countries in Europe, the most aristocratic and individualistic so far as the clientele of the Government is concerned, should have of late, shown a remarkable aptitude for realising and carrying into practice those *socialistic* principles which are the bug-bear of holders and up-holders of authority; for, Germany is *par excellence* the socialist's land to-day and Germany, moreover, has developed institutions like the above based on *socialistic* or *co-operative* principles. Well then, Germany has found a Dr. Schulze, and a Raiffeisen. Both these learned Doctors realized the grand principle, that to help the poor and the weak, the poor and the weak should be employed, and not those of the "upper ten," who naturally spurn the poor petitioner. Burns has not spoken in vain when he said

"See yonder, poor, overlaboured wight
So abject, mean, and low
Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil
And see his lordly fellow worm
The poor petitioner spurn."

These banks were originally started for the artisan, small trading and professional classes. Their operations gradually extended to the rural population. These were worked on the principle of unlimited liability, thrift, and the productivity of loans granted. Thrift was the backbone, without *thrift, no credit*. The Schulze societies number over 1,076 in Germany, with a consolidated capital of over 7 million pounds, of 22 million pounds of deposits and borrowed funds, and doing a business of over 78 million annually. Their defect, as Mr. Nicholson points out is in the shortness of their loans. As these institutions are more for the urban than rural population, and especially for artisans and such other folks who draw a regular weekly wage, and who want occasionally a small loan, the shortness of the duration of the loan does not seriously affect them. They are not well suited to the Agricultural population, and they have therefore the Raiffeisen institutions which are entirely rural and co-operative in principle. This institution has had the humblest origin and is due entirely to the genius and philanthropic efforts a simple burgomaster, "Father" Raiffeisen as he was popularly styled. Mr. Nicholson thus sums up the principles on which these

institutions are worked, (1) limitation of usual area, to a single village, so that the bank may know and be known of all ; (2) unlimited liability ; (3) reduction of the share capital—now compulsory by law to the lowest possible minimum ; (4) absolute gratuitousness of administration, only the actual clerical work being paid for ; (5) the utilisation of the loans only for productive purposes, the word “ productive ” being interpreted widely, as, for instance, for maintaining the farmer pending his crops, &c. ; (6) a considerable duration of loans, extending ordinarily up to 10, and occasionally to 20 years ; (7) repayment by small instalments ; (8) entire absence of increasing dividends, the shares, of an almost nominal amount, bearing only a moderate interest fixed by the articles, all other profits being credited to a reserve which is not the property of members save in their corporate capacity ; hence it can be spent only in works of public utility. These institutions scattered over the rural tracts of Germany have their own central Banks for equalizing funds by lending the surplus of some to meet the needs of others. These had a very humble beginning in 1849, and there were only four by 1868, *i. e.*, during nearly 20 years they made little or no progress, since then they had a phenomenal success ; to-day number by *thousands* ! The next in importance is the Luzzati Popular Bank of Italy. Luzzati the founder was then a young Professor of Political Economy, and subsequently became minister of finance. These Banks were started only within the last 30 years. There are now over 900 of these banks with a capital of over 4 million pounds, and doing business especially in the discounting line, &c., for 57 million pounds. The Italian banks are on the *limited* liability principle, a share capital subscribed by members only, and a heavy reserve, serving as a guarantee. Luzzati for the first time showed to the world that the danger to co-operative institutions lies not in *failure* but in *success*, which leads directors and members for big fees, and large dividends ; he, therefore with characteristic foresight has succeeded in getting these institutions worked on as much gratuitous a principle as possible.

We have thus far given a summary of the three important institutions of Europe which have within the last 30 to 50 years been the important means of relieving millions of peasants from the tyranny of money-lenders, and which have taught lessons of thrift, punctuality, and honesty to many a thousand who would

otherwise have been rotting in the nest of misery, and indebtedness, characteristic of the peasantry of India.

We will now proceed to view the condition of the Madras Presidency and the suggestions made by Mr. Nicholson.

It was in the fitness of things that the Madras Government should have been the first in the field in India for enquiring into the possibility of introducing Popular Banks. Four-fifths of the Presidency is under the ryotwar tenure with Government as the land-lord. It is a real case of the "nationalisation of land" on the most democratic principles. Its only defect is that the people did not constitute the Government. The distribution of the land is also on a democratic basis, 94 per cent of the ryots hold land in forms of about 25 acres each, and the extent of the land thus held is over 60 per cent of the total area under cultivation. There is thus a vast field for the introduction of Popular Banks either on the German or Italian system. The informations gathered by Mr. Nicholson go to prove that the "credit primarily needed by the ryots is continuous small loans for current needs including maintenance, cultivation expenses, purchase of stock, payment of revenue, rent and the like ;" secondly, long term loans for permanent improvements. The one redeeming feature, according to Mr. Nicholson is, that the major portion of the loans are advanced not by *professional* money-lenders but by the ryots themselves. We do not know how, especially in rural parts, a *professional* money-lender could be distinguished from the *ryot* money-lender, and what advantage there is if the transaction is between a ryot and a ryot. The point to be considered is the nature of the transaction. We know several cases in which money-lenders are actual ryots, but the terms of credit are as usurious as in the case of worst usurers. As the private money-lender is practically the only source of credit in this Presidency for the rural population, he invariably strikes a hard bargain whether he be a ryot or professional money-lender. That credit is dear needs no demonstration, and so long as the individual system of credit lasts so long will the borrowing public will be at the mercy of the lender. As Mr. Nicholson puts it, "banks are a necessity in a developing community," and the question for consideration is what sort of banks should be instituted so as to be of *real* service to the agricultural population. Looking to the genius of the Dravidian folks for purposes of combination for mutual help, Popular Banks on a co-operative principle would be the best

suited for South India. A nation that has for centuries built up communal organizations could not be without the capacity for working credit unions. Besides, the indigenous systems of "*chits*," and "*Kurries*" show that the people have not only the *capacity*, but what is more important, the *honesty* to maintain successfully such institutions. We might therefore confidently expect to find not one Raiffeisen, but many Raiffeisens when an opportunity arrives.

CONSTITUTION OF THE BANK.

The banks that have succeeded in rooting out usury from Germany, France, Italy and Switzerland, and that have reached the small folks whether agricultural, industrial, trading, or professional, are the Popular Banks on the lines of Schulze-Delitzsch, Raiffeisen, Luzzati and Wollemborg as well as the Building and other Friendly Societies. "The common feature of all these institutions is proximity," *i.e.*, the bank shall be in immediate contact with its clients. This is absolutely necessary for this Presidency for the loans as a rule are very small, and mostly on personal credit, though distributed to a large number of persons. Even in the mortgage loan which is over 400,000 annually, half are below Rs. 100, and half above Rs. 100. Those below Rs. 100 average only Rs. 44 a piece, and 15 per cent. of those below Rs. 100, are for sums not exceeding Rs. 25.

But by far, a large portion of loans especially in grains are advanced on *personal* credit of the borrower and unless he is in proximity with the lender he has no chance of getting any loan. The following quotation from Mr. Nicholson's report shows the extent of rural indebtedness :—

"Assuming the aggregate value of all existing rural mortgages as 20 crores, of existing cash debts as 15 crores, and of grain debts as 10 crores, the total debt of the rural population at the beginning of harvest will be about 45 crores in an ordinary year. This means an average indebtedness of Rs. 13 per head of the rural population. This is heavy, but in no way overwhelming; the total aggregates about three-fourth, of the annual rural produce taken as 60 crores." This may, as Mr. Nicholson puts it, compare favourably with continental Europe, so far as the amount is concerned, but is very heavy considering the high rates of interest prevailing in this Presidency, and the comparative poverty of the peasant population. Mr. Nicholson himself admits that the average rate of rural credit cannot be less than

15 per cent ; on 45 crores this means $6\frac{3}{4}$ crores, to which must be added another one or two crores for incidental expenses such as stamps, registration fees, &c. What is therefore wanted is (1) "to cheapen the terms of credit so that the mass of debt may weigh less heavily on the borrowers; (2) to render credit safe both to borrower and lender; (3) to organise credit in such a way that while safe and beneficial in its conditions, its use may be restricted to cases of necessity and of productivity, using these words in a liberal sense." Hence the class of bank required for rural credit are not Land Banks or other great institutions but small local societies corresponding to the popular and credit societies of Germany, France and Italy. Mr. Nicholson thus sums up this interesting portion of his report, "It will be well to lay down as an axiom that for this Presidency the general class of credit required is that which may be supplied by 'Village Banks' using this terms to mean those banks which are capable of development in and should be limited to operations over small towns, single villages, or small groups of villages, such as the Unions of Local Boards Act. These banks may, as in Switzerland, be joint stock banks, with a very small share capital; they may be popular banks, or credit societies as in Germany and Italy; they be Nidhis more or less modified from their existing methods to suit wider needs; they may be co-operation or agricultural societies to supply cattle, stock, implements, seed, manure, food, &c., of good quality and at cost price; they may be Saving Banks, enjoying as in Germany, Italy, and the United States, the free disposal of their funds within certain limits prescribed by law; they may be Positos or village granaries, storing the surplus grain of the village, and lending it out for maintenance and seed, as in Spain and Italy. Every one of these institutions is desirable, and every one may assume the form of a purely local village bank."

It has been previously said that the Madras Presidency with its thoroughly democratic systems of land-tenure, and with its hereditary genius for forming associations for mutual help is a suitable place for starting credit banks on a popular basis. The development of what are known as the "Madras Loan Societies" or "Nidhis" within a comparatively recent date, without any aid whatsoever from the State shows what might be done in establishing institutions for credit, more or less on a popular basis. These Nidhis originated in the City of Madras about 1850. It

was a strange fact that about the time Raiffeisen was organising his schemes of Popular Banks for Germany, and while the artisans of England were working out their Building Societies, a few shrewd people of Madras should have conceived the idea of forming the Loan Societies known as "Nidhis". The first fund was called the Sudder Court Fund open to officials only. The rules were somewhat on the lines of the Building Societies of England. The first Fund was a "Terminating Society" with a seven years' period; each subscriber agreed to pay for 84 months, when the Fund should be wound up and shares repaid at Rs. 102½ per 84 received. From the collection, loans were granted to members at 6½ per cent. interest with penalties for delay; the loans repayable by the monthly subscriptions, were usually on mortgage, and the order of granting them was determined by lot; the cost of establishment was met from the penalties and from a charge for commission. The fund finally became permanent, that is, a new series of subscribers, were admitted and shares opened every year, and finally every month, so that, there was a continuous influx and efflux of members and shares. The Fund prospered remarkably well, and many fresh ones were started. Some were genuine Loan Societies for the benefit of the borrower, some for high dividends, and therefore of a usurious nature, and some were 'bogus' funds for cheating the public. All these Funds prospered till 1872 when they received an unexpected check. It was discovered that the Societies were illegal not having registered under the Joint Stock Companies' Act. The case was taken to the High Court where a judgment adverse to these Funds was given. This collapsed the Funds, many of the borrowers refusing to meet the calls. The total loss was over 20 lakhs. The above is a summary of the history of these "Nidhis." There are now about 140 of these Nidhis well established in this Presidency; most of these are in the Madras City itself, and one especially, has over 3,000 members, and about 17,000 shares. The sudden rise and collapse of several Nidhis about 1890 has to a great extent shaken the faith in these institutions. They have nevertheless served a useful purpose, and under wise laws and good management capable of great development. As at present constituted, they have serious defects which according to Mr. Nicholson are (1) "The fact that they operate almost entirely with their subscribed, and paid in, capitals; (2) their inability to attract deposits, since there is no sufficient security for

them and a difficulty in repaying them; this largely reduces their importance as Credit Societies; (3) their inability to give loans at any time to any amount; only a member who happens to win the ballot or to be first on the register, can get loans, these being limited to the amount of the subscriptions for the month; (4) their inability to give loans for very long term; (5) the necessity for repayments by regular monthly instalments, a plan not suited to agricultural incomes; the tendency of the Societies, which in their origin and idea are co-operative, to become mere Joint Stock Institutions, in which the race for dividends, and of directors as the holders of offices more and more highly paid as profits are forced up." A few words about the administration of these Nidhis would not be out of place, showing that the original promoters, at least, were very shrewd men of business. A Nidhi is formed by a few intelligent men about 7 at least in number. They frame an Article of Association, and subscribe a few shares fully paid up to meet initial expenses. A general meeting is called at which these members, as a rule, become office-bearers, duly elected by the general body. The voting power in Madras and neighbouring districts is in most cases exercised on the principle of "*one-man, one-vote*." This is the strictly democratic principle adopted in the Popular Banks and Credit Unions of Germany and Italy. In other cases voting is done on a sliding scale according to the number of shares held by each member. In certain Nidhis in the Mofussil one vote is allowed for every share up to ten, and thereafter one for every five. In this case the Funds will naturally fall into the hands of wealthy speculative shareholders who are naturally the office-bearers, and who run these as Joint Stock Companies for high profits. The system is not popular. The success of the "*one-man, one-vote*" principle shows that there is very little danger of abuse if credit unions are placed on a truly democratic basis even in countries like India; when to this will be added the gratuitous work of directors as in continental Europe, the working of the concern will be in safe hands. It appears from the proceedings of the early Nidhis of Madras, that the directors gave their services gratuitously, the object of the Nidhis being "*mutual benefit*." At present there is hardly a Nidhi in this Presidency which does not give handsome honoraria to its directors, and the race for profits and large dividends is demoralizing many of these Funds. Besides the directors, there is a Secretary, Treasurer, and an Auditor to

every Nidhi. The Secretary is the best paid, as he is certainly the most important member. The Auditors are sometimes taken from amongst the Directors, and sometimes from members. Besides these, there are Appraisers or Commissioners for valuation of properties mortgaged to the Fund. These are important functionaries, and the success, or, otherwise of a loan on property depends on the report of these commissioners.

The accounts are not kept in any prescribed form, and several mistakes arise therefrom. A codified system of accounts is a desideratum. There is at present no external check in auditing, and the absence of a public functionary for examining accounts induces many corrupt methods being introduced in the Reports and Balance Sheets of their Funds.

Funds are formed by the subscriptions of members chiefly.

There may be deposits, but on no account a Fund borrows. The shares of the Fund as Mr. Nicholson points out have two objects (1) they are methods of saving and investments; (2) they are means of (a) obtaining and (b) paying off loans. The lowest fixed interest is generally $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., *viz.*, 1 pie per month per rupee paid up. This is a very convenient arrangement especially for purposes of calculation. There will be some additional profits which may come to about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., so that saving subscriber would get a dividend of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. As has been pointed out above, the one defect in these Nidhis is their inability to attract deposits in large sums. Still, there is a certain amount of deposit. The maximum allowed in some is Rs. 5,000, and the minimum Rs. 5. The interest on a deposit varies from 7 to 9 per cent., provided the deposits are not called for sometime. Still there is a paucity of deposits in large sums.

Reserve is provided by an allotment of one-thirty-second of the net profit after deducting all dues to subscribers for repayment of principle and interest. From an examination of the balance sheets of several Nidhis, it was found by Mr. Nicholson that only very few of them had anything like a reserve. This is the main reason why deposits are not much attracted.

Profits. One of the most interesting portions in the report on Nidhis is that on profits. Luzzati, the father of Italian credit unions, and one of the leading economists of the day has pointed out that the dangers of co-operative Societies lie not in *failures*, but in *successes*. The principle of co-operation is lost the moment

a Co-operative Society rushes in for large dividends, and such Societies cannot in the long run be Mutual Credit Unions, but will only serve the purpose of giving large profits for the directors. The history of the various Nidhis of this Presidency fully bears out Luzzatis' statements. Some of these Funds make as much as 10 and 15 per cent. profit. As these institutions are for the benefit of the borrowers, and as profits are derived from borrowing, after deducting fixed profits according to the rules, all other profits should be reduced to a minimum. As Mr. Nicholson puts it "in America one borrowing Member furnishes the profits for 3 investing members and for himself. In Madras the tendency is for the borrowing Members to furnish relatively small profits for themselves and for one investing member and relatively large profits for directors. There is in this Presidency a peculiar source of profit which is practically absent in Europe, namely, the fines derived from the unpunctuality of the directors. In Europe as well as in America, profits are obtained from the difference between the interest on money received and that on money lent out and other items such as entrance fees premia obtained at the auction of loans, &c. In Madras however it is customary to charge interest at say $6\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. on the whole amount of a loan and to credit the subscriptions or repayments with interest at the same rate; hence no profits can be made out of the chief source, *viz.*, interest on invested funds.

Loans. Loans are generally obtained on mortgages and pledges of jewellery or Government paper. Personal security is seldom accepted in Madras while in Mofussil it is more common than mortgages. This is further illustrative of the fact already mentioned that there is more mutual confidence between members residing in a small town or village than in large cities and consequently credit on personal security or what is called the "endorsement system", the same that has been so successful in Germany and Italy might with advantage be introduced amongst the rural folks. The repayment of these loans is somewhat on the lines of the Building Societies of England. If a man has one share payable in 84 months at Re. 1 per month, a loan is granted to him for Rs. 100 upon mortgage of a property worth perhaps Rs. 150, this loan he repays simply by his ordinary monthly instalments of Re. 1 *plus* interest, at the end of the eighty-four months from the date of his entering the Society, his share will be worth Rs. 102-8-0, and his debt is therefore wiped off.

Loan values. Loans are advanced to a single person on the number of shares he holds which is limited. The maximum generally is fifty shares each of Rs. 50 or Rs. 100, so that the maximum loan will be Rs. 2,500, or Rs. 5,000. The minimum varies from Rs. 5 upwards. As many of these Nidhis are limited to subscriptions of members, only, and as one large loan swallows up many small ones, there is always a scramble for obtaining loans especially of a small nature owing to the paucity of capital available for advancing loans. This could only be remedied by attracting deposits.

Government Intervention. There is practically very little Government intervention. All these Funds have to be registered in the office of the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies. The Registrar's duties simply consists in registering, in the examination of the articles of association, in the issue of a certificate of incorporation, in the levying of certain fees, &c. Since 1882 District Magistrates have been empowered by a G. O. to make an annual inspection, but matters falling within their cognizance are so limited that there is practically no check on these Nidhis. The case is quite otherwise in Europe. The registrar in India has no powers, such as those of the Registrar of Friendly Societies, and other co-operative association of Europe and America. In England, as Mr. Nicholson says "direct supervision and control are found "increasingly necessary, and are universal in Europe, where the "laws are specially framed to include these Societies and Govern- "ment Departments are specially changed with important "duties ; in fact for the most complete exposition of Government "interference in banking, it is necessary to turn to the United "States of America, where the National Banking system, now "ramified throughout the states, is minutely regulated by law, "and placed under the direct control and supervision of a com- "missioner appointed *ad hoc*, and where the Savings Banks and "Mutual Loan Societies are placed under the special supervision "either of the Superintendent of the Banking Department of the "Special Savings Bank Commissioners."

We have thus far given a summary of the development of credit institutions of Europe and of Madras ; we have devoted more space to Madras with its very small number of Funds of a very limited capital, for the simple reason that Madras with every factors against her, Legislative, Financial, Economic, &c., has yet been able to develop institutions of mutual credit some-

what on a popular basis. Europe, within the last 40 years, has established popular banking institutions doing a business of over 300 million pounds per annum; forty years in Madras have produced only 135 institutions of a solid nature with a capital of about two lakhs. Yet the conditions of this Presidency are not dissimilar to those of Europe. Here is a subject for reflection, and the future development of these credit institutions will more or less depend upon the studying of the ways and means whereby the European institutions have been developed to this present greatness and popularity, and the adaptability of those ways and means to the requirements of India. India, with her past troubled history, dating from the invasion of Mohamed of Ghazni down to the present time, with her public opinion so far as the rural population is concerned, almost *nil*, her indigenous press in infancy, her powers of co-operation for mutual benefit still on the trial under a beaurocratic and individualistic Government, where the individual members of society are too timid, poor and inert to withstand the piractical actions of corporate bodies such as directors of Joint Stock Companies, &c., where such companies are not properly controlled by the Government or a responsible public, India, with all these drawbacks, has yet shown to the world that she has not yet lost her genius for self-help, and mutual help, qualities which have been inherent in the Hindu nation ever since the dawn of the history of civilized mankind. *Laissez faire, Laissez aller!* These are sweet and consoling expressions for the thriving banker, or the usurious money-lender; but freedom in production, distribution, and exchange, the tripod of the political economist, carries no meaning with it unless all persons concerned in production, distribution and exchange are equally free, and unless all classes can produce, distribute, or exchange under equal conditions. Europe with her boasted 19th century civilization required direct care and supervision under Government, for developing Credit Unions for the benefit of the rural population; why should not India with her traditional difficulties expect or deserve, the same? Mr. Nicholson summed up his report in the two words "Find Raiffeisen." We will slightly alter it, and say "Find Government."

(To be continued.)

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OUR REFORMED LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

FOUR years have elapsed since the new Indian Councils Act was put in force. Three elections have been held in accordance with the rules framed under the Act. The experience so far gained has been satisfactory; but further improvement and development are desirable and possible. The present system of election and representation was introduced by Lord Lansdowne's Government, with the concurrence of the last Liberal ministry, in a spirit of sympathy and liberality so as to give due effect to the intentions expressed in Parliament when the Act was passed. Speaking in the House of Lords, Lord Salisbury insisted that "the machinery to be provided shall effect the purpose of giving representation, not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the living strength and vital forces of the whole community of India." The intention here expressed by His Lordship is excellent; and if generously interpreted would admit of the broadest and the most popular system of election possible under the Act. But in making the tentative rules that are now in force, the authorities had to consider carefully, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, "those elements which in the present condition of India might furnish material for introduction into the Councils of the elective principle." And the Local Boards and Municipalities as ready-made electorates were availed of for the purpose, in addition to the University and the Chamber of Commerce. These bodies actually represent but a very limited portion of the vast population of

the country ; but in making a beginning in view to further development and progress the authorities had to bear in mind that the reform they were introducing was a momentous one, and had accordingly to proceed with the utmost caution and circumspection. To have created a brand-new electorate according to the accepted notions of modern democracy would have been no less arduous than risky. The Municipalities representing the population of towns, and the District Boards that of the rural parts, covered a pretty wide surface, while the University and the Chamber of Commerce respectively represented the cultured intelligence and mercantile interests of the whole Presidency or Province. These are not, however, popular bodies, popular in the sense in which we generally understand the term ; but it is possible to give them a popular character by broadening their basis and altering their constitution so that in course of time the people's voice may become a living force in the legislature of the country. For such a consummation we must look to the generous sympathy of local rulers and administrators. At present many of our electorates are essentially official bodies with very little of the active non-official element in them. The actual elective system is in force only in Municipalities, in a certain number of them ; the rest are purely nominated bodies, the power of nomination being virtually vested in local officials who send up their recommendations to the Government which ratifies them. A sort of representation is provided also for District Boards which are partly recruited by election from the Taluk Boards ; but these latter are themselves nominated bodies hardly independent even of the Local Tahsildar. The attention of Sir Arthur Havelock's government has been drawn both in the Legislative Council and by public bodies to the importance of introducing the elective element into the constitution of Taluk Boards ; and it is generally hoped that before his term of office expires, our esteemed and popular governor will signalise his administration of this Presidency by the inauguration of a reform which, while giving a beneficial impetus to Lord Ripon's great scheme of local self-Government, will be the means of providing a really popular and useful electorate for the Legislative Council.

The other distinguished feature in the present system of election is the territorial division of the electorates. The districts of this Presidency, with the exception of the Madras Municipal limits, have been divided into two portions ; and each

of these portions is again divided into two distinct groups of District Boards and Municipalities. Practically, therefore, the whole Presidency, excepting the city of Madras, has been formed into four separate electoral bodies each having one seat to itself. By this system the Northern group comprising the Deccan and the ceded Districts, is separated, for purposes of election, from the Southern group of Districts and gets two seats to itself, one to be filled up by election by District Boards and the other by the Municipalities. Considering the vast area and population of the Presidency, the four seats now divided among District Boards and Municipalities are extremely inadequate ; and in practice, several districts go altogether unrepresented in important matters. The object of the Government in insisting on a residential qualification for the representatives of District Boards and District Municipalities was to ensure the representation of Mofussil interests by Mofussil men. The non-official members under the old Act were invariably residents of the Presidency towns as they were the men most distinguished and best known to the Government and the general public ; and had it not been for the insistence of residential qualifications, no resident of the Mofussil would have likely got a seat in the Legislative Council ; for the old conception of a non-official member of the Legislative Council was that of a man who had attained the first rank as a lawyer or public man and was as such known and esteemed throughout the Presidency. A man of this description was seldom found among the residents of the Mofussil ; and if the New Councils Act had been put in force without imposing any restriction as to residence, the more prominent men in the capital of the Presidency would have been the first and, for sometime at all events, the subsequent recipients of the honor of being returned to the Council by Mofussil constituencies. The Government probably thought that the Mofussil could not be really represented by men who, by long and continued residence in the capital, had lost touch with the rural population, with their needs and grievances, and accordingly devised the rule that none but those who ordinarily reside within the limits of any of the Districts comprised in each group of District Boards or Municipalities shall be eligible for election. But it has to be pointed out that judging by the elections held so far, the object of the Government has not been accomplished, unless you regard all Mofussil as one and each part identical with the rest in language, customs, manners, revenue system and land

tenure. But several parts of the Presidency so differ from one another that a man of one District has absolutely no idea of another District in regard to the essential points of administration and legislation. Thus a member from a Deccan District has very little knowledge of Bellary or Chingleput, nor does a member from Tanjore or Trichinopoly know more about Malabar or South Canara. And by reason of the electoral bodies being scattered over so large an area, and of the majority of the districts in a group being identical in regard to language, land tenure or revenue system, several districts go altogether unrepresented and uncared for. Since the introduction of the elective system the Northern group of Municipalities has always been represented by a member from Rajahmundry while the representation of District Boards has alternated between Bellary and Cuddapah. Similarly in the Southern group while one seat has been uninterruptedly held by a member from Tanjore, the other has been alternately filled by representatives from Madura and Salem. Now these gentlemen are in no way better representatives of Districts other than those in which they reside than the residents of the city of Madras. On the other hand, the latter have the advantage of knowing more of the Presidency generally than those who reside in particular Mofussil stations. Many of us, for example, who ordinarily live in Madras not only have substantial interests in our respective Districts, but as lawyers or journalists have also needs and opportunities of acquainting ourselves with the popular wants and grievances of all parts of the Presidency. We cannot do without daily contact and communication with people from different parts of the Presidency, whereas a resident of the Mofussil who carries on his business or profession within the four corners of his own district or rather of his own town has no occasion to look about elsewhere except out of curiosity. It is thus clear that the present residential qualification and the consequent exclusion of men of the Presidency town from the Mofussil electorates have resulted in a very inadequate and partial system of representation so far as the Districts are concerned; and it has now been generally recognised that, under the present system of election, certain important districts in the Presidency have no chance of obtaining representation in the Council. There was no doubt very good reason for insisting on Mofussil residence as a *sine qua non* for election by Mofussil electorates; but the result actually

achieved hitherto, and may possibly be achieved hereafter, does not justify the restriction which is now in force. The best way to remedy the defect is to alter the territorial division of electorates and to re-distribute the seats in such a manner as to secure separate representation to smaller groups of districts.

The extremely small number of seats now thrown open for election is, indeed, a difficulty in the way of multiplying the electoral groups; for the four seats distributed over twenty-one districts cannot, by any manner of re-distribution, secure adequate representation for all parts. Two suggestions have, however, been made by recognised public bodies to make the best use of the available seats. They are, (1) to add to the existing number the remaining non-official seats to which the Government now makes its own nominations, (2) to mix the District Boards and Municipalities into common electoral bodies and (3) to divide them into as many electoral groups as there are seats available by the addition proposed. The arrangement, no doubt, appears excellent; but there are certain important considerations which militate against it. In the first place it has to be considered whether it is expedient to altogether destroy the line of demarcation drawn between District Boards and Municipalities. These two distinct classes of bodies represent different and divergent interests. While recognising that, for the time, District Boards are essentially official in their constitution and character, we cannot lose sight of the fact that in their very inception, they are intended to represent the more important and permanent interests of the country, and with the vast possibilities of development before them they may be expected, in course of time, to become real and living representatives of the great land-owning classes. In them we have the solid and conservative elements in the country, those very elements which are most affected by important measures of administration and legislation. But in the Municipalities the interests represented are varied and, in some respects, temporary. The interests of arts and professions, of trade and commerce predominate in them; and the classes most active and conspicuous who control the Municipal administration are generally more advanced and more radical in their tendencies. There is further the possibility of the different interests represented by District Boards and Municipalities being in conflict with each other; in some respects they are so now. It is moreover inequitable to place the District

Board on the same footing as a single Municipality, to make a single vote of the former equal to a single vote of the latter ; for the Municipalities being much larger in number will swamp the District Boards if both are thrown together for purposes of election. These considerations must weigh against the mixing up of the two in the manner suggested ; and unless the Government of India, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, agrees to effect the change throughout India, it is difficult to carry it out in Madras alone.

The Government may, if it is so pleased, add to the number of seats now allotted for district representation. The total number of non-official seats is 11, of which one is given to the Chamber of Commerce, one to the University, one to the Presidency Municipality and four to District Boards and District Municipalities. Of the four seats that remain, one is, and must be, held by a representative of the landed aristocracy ; and another which is held by a member of the great Mahomedan community will continue to be so held till one or more representatives of that community succeed in getting themselves elected by one or more of the existing electoral bodies. There are thus left two seats at the disposal of the Government, which may be given away in any manner it likes. It may be contended on its behalf that Government must retain those seats so as to allow representation, when it thinks fit, to such tracts or interests as may be left unrepresented under the system of election in vogue ; and it cannot be denied that under certain circumstances and in certain contingencies such a course will be necessary. For example, the Planting community which, for the time, has a separate representative in the Council, may well have need to protect its interests when special legislation affecting it may come up for consideration. Other similar interests may have also to be represented at certain times. It is, however, possible for Government under such circumstances to assign one of the official seats to the body or bodies requiring special representation on special occasions. The seat now held by the planting member is an official seat which was given away by Lord Wenlock at a time when no non-official seat was available. If, therefore, the extreme generosity of Government should incline it to make over the remaining two non-official seats to District Boards and District Municipalities, there will be in all six seats to be competed for by the representatives of these bodies. The whole electorate of the Presidency can then

be divided into six divisions instead of four as at present, and smaller groups of Districts can thus be secured separate representation. This I will revert to further on after considering whether and to what extent a more adequate representation can be obtained with the four seats now allotted.

As has been already pointed out, the whole Presidency is now divided into the Northern and Southern groups of District Boards and District Municipalities ; and the four groups thus created have one seat each. But as each group covers a large area, about half the Presidency, as any one residing in any part of that area can obtain the seat, and as owing to certain causes natives of certain Districts alone succeed in getting themselves elected, the advantage which the Government expected from insisting on residence in any of the Districts comprised within the group as a condition for election, has been secured but partially ; and as far as the unrepresented Districts are concerned it would have been far better for them if residents of the Presidency town had been allowed to compete. But if we divide the whole Presidency into four instead of two groups as at present, we will get eight electoral divisions, four of District Boards and four of District Municipalities. Thus in the North the Districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavery and Krishna may form one group ; and Nellore, Kurnool, Cuddappah, Bellary, Anandapur, North Arcot and Chingleput may form another. Similarly in the South, South Canara, Malabar, Nilgiris, Coimbatore, and Salem will form one group, and Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevely and South Arcot will form another. The District Boards and Municipalities arranged in this order will give us eight separate electoral groups, each getting a seat by turn as in Bengal ; and each of the four divisions of Districts will have one seat always, either of District Boards or of District Municipalities. The arrangement that I propose is this : of the two seats now allotted to the Northern group, one will be given to the Northern division under the proposed arrangement, and the other to the Southern ; and each seat will be alternately held by the representatives of the District Boards and the District Municipalities comprised within each division so that, if during this term the District Boards in the Northern division of the Northern group of Districts hold one seat, and the District Municipalities in the Southern Division the other, during the next term the Municipalities in the Northern division will have one seat, and the

District Boards in the Southern Division the other. Similar disposition of seats will prevail in the two divisions of the Southern group of Districts. In the result each of the four divisions of the Presidency will always have one representative at a time in the Council, either of District Boards or of District Municipalities. And in order to ensure local representation, the representative of each division must be insisted upon to be one who ordinarily resides in any of the districts comprised in that division, and not beyond its limits. The elections under the new arrangement may be held in the central cities of the four respective Divisions, if the delegation system continues, with the decided advantage of diminished trouble and expense to the delegates. The whole proposal is so easy to be carried out and will produce such beneficial results that the Government may, I venture to hope, be easily persuaded to sanction it.

If, however, it be found convenient to add the remaining two non-official seats, to which reference has been made above, to the existing number, we can divide the whole Presidency into six divisions and twelve electoral groups, the seats alternating in the manner already indicated. Each division will then consist of three districts generally, and in a few cases four, and will always have a separate representative, now returned by District Boards and again by Municipalities. Ganjam, Vizagapatam, and Godavery may form one division; Krishna, Kurnool, Cuddapah and Nellore may form a second; and Bellary, Anantapur, North Arcot and Chingleput, a third. In the South similarly, South Canara, Malabar and Nilgiris will form one division; Coimbatore, Salem, Mudura and Tinnevely, another; and Trichinopoly, Tanjore and South Arcot, a third. This is merely a rough division capable perhaps of improvement. But if the principle is recognised there can be no difficulty in so re-arranging the Districts as to secure the best disposition of seats. In Bengal this system already prevails but in a less satisfactory manner, and its novelty cannot therefore be a bar to its adoption here. If adopted, it will secure separate representation for much smaller areas than at present and by men who ordinarily reside within those areas.

There yet remains another conspicuous feature of the present elective system to be considered, and that is the method of election by delegates. It is not clear why this particular method was adopted in preference to direct election by the members of

District Boards and Municipalities, unless the reason be that it was thought that the delegation system would bring in a better class of voters than those generally found in these local bodies, and that through them an absolute majority of votes in the whole electoral group might be ensured in favor of the successful candidate. There is no doubt that the delegates now appointed are generally the best men in point of talent and education ; and they may be expected to give their votes with discrimination and with a view to return the best candidate in the field. But it is extremely doubtful whether it secures the other end, namely the end of returning the candidate who is really approved by the majority of the constituencies as the best and the fittest. The delegates have considerable latitude in giving their votes, the only restriction on their freedom being that they should in the first ballot record their votes in favor of the candidate they are instructed by their constituents to vote for. Once this instruction is carried out and their candidate fails to be elected, the delegates are at liberty to vote for any body they like ; and most unexpected results have in certain cases been thus produced. The recent order of Government that alternative nominations might be made, and that the voting delegates should sign their name in the voting paper has to a certain extent diminished the latitude hitherto enjoyed. But even this restrictive rule goes only a very little way ; and judged by the results of the successive ballots of the last elections it cannot be confidently said that the intentions of the constituencies have been or will be strictly carried out. And further the system which enables a handful of delegates to determine the fate of elections is liable to abuse ; and there is no guarantee that advantage will not be taken by candidates or their agents to improperly influence votes in their favor. The larger the number of voters the greater is the difficulty in the way of using any improper influence ; hence with a large electorate the possibility of illegitimate interference is very small. But the present delegation system must have just the opposite effect ; and as regards District Boards the number of delegates is so very small that an enterprising electioneering agent may, under certain circumstances, easily win the seat for his ambitious principal, although he may be quite unworthy of it. Very often one or two votes will determine the result of an election, and in such cases very little effort is needed to win the seat. The only way to provide against such a possibility is to increase the number of voters either by

authorising the appointment of more delegates by the bodies concerned or by doing away with the delegation system and allowing the members of those bodies to vote directly for their respective candidates. The latter system seems to be the better of the two, as in that case the election will be settled by the majority of votes recorded by the members of the bodies constituting a particular group, and there will be no need for holding a second election and dragging men to a distant central place. If there are, for instance, ten Municipalities or District Boards forming a particular group, each of those bodies will meet separately and elect a candidate by a majority of the votes recorded, as is done at present. An officer specially appointed for this purpose will be duly informed of these results; and he will declare the man who has obtained the largest number of the total votes recorded by the members of all the bodies constituting the group; and the Government will nominate him as the representative of that group. If this supersedes the system now in vogue, I have very little fear that it will lead to results worse than those obtained now. But one certain advantage it will have, that of awakening the members of District Boards and Municipalities to an increased sense of responsibility. At present, everybody feels that his vote has very little direct value, and that the final election may be settled independently of his vote. The absolute purposelessness which has been often found to characterise the first elections, and the readiness shown by several bodies to vote for almost any man who seeks their suffrage, are to be accounted for by the feeling of irresponsibility which the present system engenders. And seeing that the Chamber of Commerce, the University and the Presidency Municipality enjoy the privilege of direct representation, it is safe to assume that no question of principle can intervene to the prejudice of the plan I have formulated.

There has been some murmur of late against Government officials becoming voting delegates; and the last Provincial Conference in Madras seriously adopted a resolution involving an emphatic protest against the practice. I have already expressed elsewhere my opinion to the contrary; and further consideration does not incline me to modify or withdraw it. The prejudice against officials is an old-standing one, engendered under circumstances which do not exist now, and, so far as they exist, are counteracted by other influences. The narrow,

bigoted, selfish, supercilious official who, in the days gone by, oppressed people, took bribe and sold justice to the highest bidder, is associated in the minds of some people with the present times, with the reformed Council, the newspaper press and all other modern machinery of agitation; and it cannot be denied that to a certain extent official influence is still liable to be abused in favor of an unworthy or unpopular candidate. But it must at the same time be recognised that the large majority of officials of the present day are men of superior education, impelled by the same sympathies as influence non-official exponents of public opinion. They are as much interested in public welfare, and have no personal ambition of their own to satisfy. Unlike their predecessors of old, they are amenable to public opinion; and, with rare exceptions, they have stood by the candidates acceptable to the public. Nay more, some of our most popular members owe their election not a little to the influence and support of officials. Unless, therefore, they are found to misuse their power and influence to the prejudice of public interests, it is unwise to exclude them from participation in the elections, to which they are entitled as members of the recognised electoral bodies. As members of District Boards and Municipalities they have the right to vote at the preliminary elections; and if that is allowable, there is no reason why they should not be allowed the other right, which follows from it, of voting as delegates at the final elections. They are moreover citizens of the empire having as much interest in the country as any non-official; and I fail to see why their official position should preclude them from the known rights of citizenship. Indeed, as Government officials they possess larger influence in the Mofussil than other classes of people; and the more imprudent of them may possibly compromise their position by identifying themselves with parties and factions. To avoid any such scandal the Government has wisely provided that its officials ought not to take too prominent a part in the elections; and anybody who infringes this injunction does so at his own peril. Excepting this wholesome restriction, no other appears to be desirable at present. In our District Boards the official element is predominant, not only by its influence but also by its intelligence. Leaving the officials out, what we have in these bodies are generally a set of ill-educated, ill-informed, incompetent, timid men who are themselves the creatures of officials and who

are there simply to nod assent to the official decree. If only the system of paying batta be abolished, I am sure many of them would not care to be there. The District officials are no doubt much to blame for appointing this sort of men; but taking things as we find them, it is hopeless to form a competent electorate after leaving out the official element. In the Municipalities, things are a thousand times better; but even there the officials are by no means a negligible element as they are by no means the least intelligent or the least influential section of the whole body. Officials still form a very important portion of our educated population; and, in my opinion, the time has not yet come when we can discard them altogether in constructing an electorate. It has, indeed, been urged that, in electing a representative to the Supreme Legislative Council, only non-official members of the Local Legislature are allowed to vote; but it is forgotten that both in the University and the Presidency Municipality no difference whatever is made between official and non-official members, and both vote at the elections. This is significant as showing that the principle applied in the case of the Provincial Legislature is not identical with that now suggested. In the Legislative Council it is a ruling principle that officials should always be in the majority; and an election made by such a body may result in returning a member whose official leanings have commended him to the acceptance of the majority. But in the local Boards generally the officials are in the minority, and in theory they are subordinate to the non-official majority. Where they are disposed to exceed the prescribed limits, public opinion and fear of the displeasure of Government are sufficient to keep them in restraint.

It now remains for me to deal with certain misconceptions and superstitions which seem to prevail in regard to the object and scope of representation in the Council. There appears to be a tendency to circumscribe the duties of our representatives according to the character of the constituencies which elect them. Thus it has been said that the member for the University should be one capable of representing the interests of that body as though that is the only qualification that is necessary for him in the Legislative Council. Similar views have been expressed as regards the functions and duties of gentlemen who have been returned to the Council by other constituencies. Nay, some of the honorable members themselves seem to entertain narrow

notions of this sort. It cannot therefore be too often pointed out that the existing constituencies have been selected not because they represent special interests, but because they are the only ready-made and stable bodies which could easily be utilised as electorates. And every constituency ought to take particular care that the member it returns to the Council is fit to represent not merely its own needs and interests, but those of the general public, as otherwise the member for the University is apt to think that he has no other interest to serve except that of the University, and the member for the Madras Municipality may likewise think that his duty in the Council ceases with putting a few questions about the drainage scheme or making a speech on the condition of the Cooum. Such a result will not secure to the country the advantages expected from the reformed Council by those who were responsible for passing the new Act as well as by the general public.

Another misconception, and I may even call it a superstition, is that representation should be of castes and communities; and we very frequently hear of the representation of this or that community and of this or that caste. Communal representation first began with the Mahomedans; a desire for it is now spreading among other communities. It does not seem to be recognised that a community can claim special representation only when it has special interests to be represented. The Mahomedans by their number, influence, interests and traditions form an important community; and there may be occasions when special knowledge of their laws and customs, and of their needs and peculiarities will be of use and advantage in the Council. But the demand for communal representation is being gradually made by smaller sections of the people; and in course of time it threatens to become a nuisance. One can understand different interests requiring separate representation. There is, for example, the interest of the Mercantile community; there is again the interest of the planting community or of the land-holding classes. But it is impossible to see what special interests particular sections of the people as such can have to require separate representation. The evil is aggravated when the demand for communal representation descends into a desire for the representation of caste; and it has been only too apparent of late that the elections are at times apt to be influenced by considerations of caste. The most common thing that one hears of in connection with

the elections is the distinction between Brahman and non-Brahman, and when a non-Brahman is elected as against a Brahman satisfaction is openly expressed by people interested in keeping up caste and sectional differences, not that a really worthy candidate has been elected but that there is one non-Brahman against one Brahman. As far as public affairs are concerned, it is a matter of perfect indifference to what caste or creed a man belongs who has to represent the general public in the Legislative Council. The essential qualification that is required of him is that of ability and knowledge. He must have the capacity to grasp public questions and discuss them with intelligence. He must possess a satisfactory knowledge of the country, of the people, and of the system of administration. And above all he must be a man of popular sympathies. Other qualifications, such as past public service and an established reputation may be auxiliaries to these, but they are not essential. In accepting a man as the representative of a popular constituency, these qualifications, and not caste or creed, should determine the choice. A Mahomedan, a Christian, or a Buddhist is as good as the purest Brahmin provided he possesses the qualifications just indicated. The idea of representation by caste presupposes the existence of caste interests in the Legislative Council as well as the probability of a member of one caste acting against the interests and sentiments of another caste. It does not appear to me that such a contingency is likely to arise. The only instance that I can think of occurred during the discussion on the Malabar Marriage Bill, when an elected Brahman member from Tanjore brought forward an amendment opposing the legislation of marriages between Brahmans and certain other classes in Malabar. In that case no doubt he spoke and acted as a Brahman against the interest of a non-Brahman class, and not as the duly elected representative of the general public. That was, however, a rare instance which is not likely to occur again, at all events, in the ordinary course. The prejudice in favor of particular castes in the matter of elections is fatal to efficient representation in the Council; for a candidate, favored for his caste, may not possess the qualifications required of a legislator; he may even be quite unworthy of the honor and distinction proposed to be conferred upon him. Nevertheless he should succeed if the predominant caste feeling be in his favor; and he will then owe his seat to his caste more than to his constituents.

Such a result will not be quite conducive to the success and development of the elective system ; and every possible endeavour should be made to discourage the tendency that is now perceptible to disregard principle and public interests in favor of caste, sectional and communal considerations.

The reformed Council has so far resulted in good to the Government and the people. To the former the elected members have been valuable helpmates in the work of legislation by acquainting it with popular views and sentiments and by strengthening it by their assent to its measures. To the people there is the satisfaction that their needs and grievances can be properly represented ; and measures passed with the assent of their representatives inspire greater confidence in them. Men learn to act with greater sense of responsibility, and to be cautious and temperate in their criticisms of Government and its measures. The judicious exercise of the right of interpellation has made Government officials more guarded and thoughtful. Above all more people are being trained to the work of legislation, and brought to realise the difficulties of administration. An improvement in the directions I have suggested will make the Council a stronger, more popular and more useful body.

C. KARUNAKARA MENON.

ALTRUISM : ITS ORIGIN AND DESTINY.

IN the grand march of Evolution ever since the World began, Omniscient Nature has always been mindful of what she had to do from time to time towards the building up of a Social fabric and the fostering of Ethical Humanity. No doubt Man has had a great deal to do in the latest years of the World's development towards constructing a Society as we now find it ; but, unless Nature first prepared the way for its formation, chalked out the lines for him to follow, and actively helped him on in his progress he would not have succeeded so well as he has done. In ministering to the ethical efficiency of individuals, Nature has played a very important part indeed ; and, though Man took up the thread where Nature left it, yet he worked only on the lines shadowed forth by her in her process of Evolution that had gone on for ages in the past, and worked also with the help which she had constantly afforded in the formation of those habits of a self-sacrificing character which constitute the essence of ethical efficiency and which best subserve the noble end of effectively tending towards the realization of that moral ideal towards which the Society is steadily advancing. I will now briefly sketch out what nature has done towards the building up of that sublimest content of the Universe, the Ethical Society, and show that the basis for the training of individuals for that Society is furnished by her, a basis that, though recognised by all thinkers, has yet not received that attention and emphasis which it deserves as a factor that saves Nature from the charge of want of continuity in her ways.

The essential mark of the ethical efficiency of an individual is, as has been observed, preparedness for self-sacrifice. When was a germ of this self-sacrifice, the noblest of all social virtues, engendered in the world, and what was the occasion ? In his Romanes' Lecture on Ethics and Evolution, the late Professor Huxley bitterly bemoans the absence of any sanction for Morality, any undercurrent of self-sacrifice in the ways of the Cosmos. Organised politics and moral communities, which are all based upon Sacrifice for the common good, are not the result of that famous

factor of cosmic evolution, the struggle for existence and the consequent survival of the fittest. This factor which is ruthless and essentially self-assertive, has indeed worked out the sub-ethical nature to its highest perfection but is totally incompetent to produce anything like the absolute goodness of the World. This glorious task, says Huxley, is left for man to execute, and by virtue of a fund of energy which is lodged within him and which is akin to the spirit which pervades the Universe, he checks the cosmic process at every step and brings into existence the grandest of all human products, the Ethical Society. He speaks of the ethical world as an artificial world within the cosmos. Another recent writer on social evolution, Benjamin Kidd, also proclaims that there is no sanction for morality in Nature, that there is only incessant struggle to be seen everywhere and only incessant groans to be heard and seeks an ultra-rational sanction to explain the origin and progress of Society.

The late Mr. Henry Drummond has protested emphatically against these declarations and shown that Nature has been impartial in her ways and affords as much sanction for self-sacrifice as she does for self-love. He lays great stress on the factor of the struggle for the life of others which as existed from the beginning and regards it as constituting that root of self-sacrifice which has struck deep into the lowest reaches of Organic Nature, as deep indeed as the struggle for life itself and in which may be seen the natural sanction for morality so eagerly sought after.* He says that the two factors of the struggle for life and the struggle for the life of others are both cosmical and ethical factors, the former being based on the physiological function of Nutrition and the latter being based on the physiological function of Reproduction.

We are told that when the Protozoan, the lowest animal organism of only one cell, grows so big that it is no longer possible for it to take in the requisite supply of nutrition by absorption through its surface as is its wont, it splits itself into two smaller organisms as otherwise it would have to give up its life.

* In this, no doubt, he has been anticipated by Mr. Herbert Spencer ; but the credit of emphasising it as a second cosmic factor at the basis of Altruism is entirely due to him. He would certainly have done better if he had acknowledged the fact that he had been so anticipated somewhere in his *Ascent of Man*. The Editor of the *Saturday Review* is unusually hard upon him and sneers at his attempt to reconcile his doctrine of evolution with his Calvinistic Theology ; but he never made any honest attempt to draw a fair estimate of the merits of the reconciliation.

This rudimentary phase of reproduction must be viewed as the first great act of self-sacrifice. In giving up its life as an individual and bringing forth two individuals it performs an act of self-sacrifice. The beautiful flower of the tree droops or gives up its life for the sake of the clustering seeds contained within. All plants and animals are known, as if unselfishly, to provide the first foods for their infants, so that these may not be in want as soon as they are born into the world. Particular instances in which either life is unconsciously given up for the sake of other lives or the first foods are instinctively stored up for infants at much sacrifice, may be endlessly multiplied. And now the question is, when does this unconscious giving up of life for the sake of others, or the instinctive storage of food as the first supply develop into a conscious sacrifice in the course of evolution? And the answer is, when the mere femaleness found to exist in every species of plants and animals develops into motherhood? And, when, again does this femaleness develop into motherhood? When it is accompanied by a development the brain and the evolution of Reason.

Drummond next points out how in the course of evolution, when motherhood develops, love from an ethical point of view makes its appearance in the world for the first time. The mother must love the child because it is weak and helpless. She can also afford to love the child because it is now only one and not too many as in the lower stages of evolution. The mother and the child live together for a long time and during the period the child also learns to love and obey. He next shows how patience develops from the passivity of the mother or her capacity to sit still, how patience practised upon a child when it is in trouble breeds fellow-feeling or sympathy, how passive sympathy leads to active sympathy, and how this in its turn leads to a disposition to help the child always. Regarding the development of sympathy, Drummond says :—"On occasions sympathy will be called out in unusual ways. Crisis will occur—dangers, famines, sicknesses. At first the mother will be unable to meet these extreme demands—her fund of sympathy is too poor. She cannot take any exceptional trouble or forget herself or do anything very heroic. The child, unable to breast the danger alone, dies. It is well that this should be so. It is the severity and righteous justice of Nature—the tragedy of

Ivân Ivânovitch anticipated by Evolution. A mother who has failed in helpfulness must leave no successor to perpetuate her unworthiness in posterity. Somewhere else, however, developing along similar lives, there is another fractionally better mother. When the emergency occurs she rises to the occasion. For one hour she transcends herself. That day a cubit is added to the moral stature of mankind; the first act of self-sacrifice is registered in favour of the human race. It may or may not be that the child will acquire its mother's virtue. But unselfishness has scored; its child has proved itself fitter to survive than the child of selfishness. * * * * * Love is no necessary ingredient of sex relation; it is not an outgrowth of passion. Love is love and has always been love and has never been anything lower. Whence, then, came it? If neither the husband nor the wife bestowed this gift upon the world. Who did? It was a little child. Till this appeared Man's affection was non-existent; Woman's was frozen. The Man did not love the Woman; the Woman did not love the man. But one day from its Mother's very heart, from a shrine which her husband never visited, nor knew was there, which she herself dared scarce acknowledge a child drew forth the first fresh bud of a Love which was not passion, a Love which was not selfish, a Love which was an incense from its Maker and whose fragrance from that hour went forth to sanctify the world. Later, long later, through the same tiny and unconscious intermediary the father's soul was touched. And one day in the love of a little child, Father and Mother met."

Thus, according to this conception of the origin of the social and moral order, there is sanction for morality in the ways of the Cosmos. Side by side with a factor whose main object was to perfect life, there has been working from the beginning of Time another factor, the struggle for the life of others whose main object was to produce the moral order of the Universe. But without perfect physical organism accomplished by the first factor moral order would be meaningless, and without the aim of a moral order the perfecting of life in a physical organism would be purposeless. Both the factors have helped each other in the past and still help each other in their scope and operation. The struggle for life enlarges the possibilities of a successful working of the struggle for the life of others, and this latter enlarges the scope and working of the struggle for

life by introducing into the world greater demand for the same supplies and thus rendering the competition extremely keen. It should not however be supposed that after perfecting life up to the point of the human body, the struggle for life ceased to work. It does continue to work though in different forms and it will never cease to work. All the efforts of man at the present day towards the development of his own resources at the expense of those of others are only different forms of the struggle for life. The ape and tiger propensities still linger in man; but they appear in the mildest of forms. Excepting those moral laws the violation of which is visited with punishment or displeasure from any recognised authority, the rest are, in the generality of cases, completely ignored; and the rare instances of heroic disinterestedness which we now and then come across are extreme developments from the factor of the struggle for the life of others largely aided and strengthened by those other forces which have been born of the expanded intelligence in the course of evolution and which have operated to much effect in the past and which still operate so as to remove still further the string of the self-assertive struggle.

Of these subsidiary forces aiding the struggle for the life of others in constructing an ethical society, the force of attraction of similars and the principle of union may be mentioned. The force of attraction of similars by which animals of like shape and features are drawn towards each other develops at a stage of mental evolution when perception becomes possible, expands with its progress and continues to aid the sympathetic struggle in increasing definiteness and intensity. This is how in the history of Cosmic Evolution we have always had a grouping of individuals of the same species and a kind of united action among them in the lower ranks of sentient life. The individuals of a species have been drawn together by the sympathy of likeness and have always maintained as far as possible amicable relations with one another and have thus guarded against the possible contingency of the annihilation of their kind. This last result of the preservation of their species which they could unintentionally secure in the earlier stages came at last to be deliberately intended when mental evolution progressed so far as to make them alive to the advantages of union and understand that the expan-

sion of their own species could serve as a protection against the attacks on the lives of individual members. In some of the lower animals, a conscious impulse is known to exist that they should not hurt one another while pursuing a common cause. "Wolves could not hunt in packs except for the real though unexpressed understanding that they should not attack one another during the chase." They could appreciate the physical strength of numbers and always presented a united front against the attacks of other species. In all such cases the struggle for life is not the struggle for the life of an individual, but it is a struggle for the life of the whole species. Even in the highest of organised beings certain settled methods of life are adopted which are best calculated to save the extinction of the species if not also to promote its development. Man as the latest evolved product has to maintain his position as the head of the sentient beings, and, in order to secure strength with a view to this object enters into a sort of contract with his fellow-beings. The terms of the contract form a good portion of the ethical principles which are thus based not merely upon love, sympathy, &c., brought into existence by the working of the struggle for the life of others, but also upon an intellectual recognition of the benefits, physical and mental, of the principle of co-operation or union. Were it not for such a contract, man's supremacy would be at an end. He agrees to part with some of his privileges because he knows that by so doing he can secure better advantages for his own living and greater facilities for the maintenance of his own race. Even within his own society the survival of the fittest does prevail as "the fittest" does not necessarily mean "the strongest" but only "the best adapted to the environments."

Thus the cosmic process without losing its essential features gets considerably modified and appears in different forms in different stages without running counter to the beneficent principles. The fittest man is he who adapts himself to the new conditions and forces introduced by the beneficent principles and advances the cause of such principles by promoting their action. The two cosmic factors get interlaced into each other in their working; and the genuine altruistic nature begotten of the struggle for the life of others is greatly overlaid by the intensifying effects of other forces that had developed at different stages of mental evolution. Before true love, sympathy and duty were actually

born in the world these forces had also prepared the way for their easy genesis and development.

Of the two physiological functions of nutrition and reproduction which Drummond emphasises as the bases of the two cosmic factors, the struggle for life and the struggle for the life of others, priority may easily be seen to belong to nutrition. He tells us that all the virtues have a sanction in Nature in so far as love, sympathy, duty, &c., are born of parental nursing whose necessity even for physical development and equipment for life, not to speak of the unspeakable end of realising the grandest and the noblest world, is consciously developed by the growing intelligence. This parental nursing which is viewed by Drummond as the beginning of self-sacrifice is traced back to the function of reproduction as its source; but this reproduction, not being possible without previous nutrition, must be viewed as taking its origin from it and thus occupying a place only subordinate to it. It is in fact the growth of the cell with the continuity interrupted. Mr. Spencer and Hackel have called it a process of discontinuous growth. It is said that owing to physiological necessities the first animal cell must either die or split into two. What are those physiological necessities? They are the necessities arising from previous nutrition and the consequent development. And Drummond says that the cell does not die under these circumstances, but splits itself into two. And he interprets this act of the cell as the fore-shadowing of the self-sacrifice since it gives up its life as an individual and brings forth two individuals. This is quite true. But there is another aspect of the act which is even more important. If the animal cell prefers the latter alternative and splits itself into two cells instead of dying altogether, it is clear that it does so because it wants to save itself. Drummond does recognise this aspect of the phenomenon and says that the fact of its producing two lives in the very act of saving itself is a proof that the two factors the struggle for life and the struggle for the life of others are inter-related. We may accept this interpretation but may go further and ask, of the two aims thus interpreted, namely, the aim of saving its life and the aim of losing its individuality for the sake of two individuals, which is more primordial than the other? The answer which suggests itself to me is that the former is certainly an earlier fact in nature and is a necessary prelude to the latter.

If it is true that in order to save itself it splits itself into two, it must also be true that the preservation of life is the more primary end and that the bringing of two lives into existence is only a mode of accomplishing the main object. Also nutrition which is at the basis of self-preservation is a necessary preliminary to reproduction which is at the basis of self-sacrifice. Thus, the deep-most root of self-sacrifice planted in Nature is an inevitable consequence of, and an obvious development from, the deep-most root of self-love. This fact of the root of self-love being an indispensable condition of the root of self-sacrifice is a proof that the struggle for life will never disappear from the world so long as Ethical Society lasts, and affords a natural sanction for the doctrine that self-sacrifice cannot subsist on the extreme of self-abnegation. It is a proof that if love of self is completely extinguished then love of others also is completely extinguished. In the artificial training which the more advanced social man gives to the future responsible member of the society, *i.e.*, in man's artificial working of the principle of union so as to be fit the individual to fill a suitable place in society, the first and the foremost factor that is made use of is the factor of self-love imbedded in the human constitution, by a wise regulation of which the desired moral results are produced. Such a training becomes possible only when the individual trained has desires to pursue and pains to avoid, so that he may be made to see that the feelings of other individuals similarly constituted should be respected in the same way in which he desires that his own feelings should be respected by them.

In the ancient world of Fetichism when mental development was very low natural phenomena had no natural causes but were so many miracles the explanation of which consisted merely in a reference to the mysterious action of anthropomorphic deities represented by perceivable insensate objects of the grossest description. As mental evolution advanced and science gained ground, this mode of viewing the World around was gradually given up, and people saw in the production of natural phenomena the sensible operation of natural causes. This discovery of scientific causes to explain superstitions was only gradual as mental evolution itself was only gradual. Those superstitions were longest in yielding to scientific explanations whose natural causes were intricate, complex and difficult of attainment. And as Intelligence developed and became com-

petent to discover and analyse these it was possible to bring even those refined superstitions within the range of ever-widening explanations of science. The phenomenon of life and the origin of the species remained till very recently absolutely inscrutable, and the latter of these, the origin of the species succumbed at last to the repeated attacks of the inexorable and aggressive enemy science. We have now a beautiful scientific explanation of the origin of the species, an explanation which owing to the novelty of its ideas, many minds are slow to accept, but which, by virtue of its adequacy and comprehensiveness, may one day bring the entire world of science under its sway and reign supreme as the only satisfying solution of the problem of this eventful world with its multiplex species and phenomena. As in the matter of securing the choicest blessings of life and seeking ways and means that largely minister to the comforts of the body, man's aspirations know no bounds, so, in the matter of pursuing truth also, a contented mind is a rare phenomenon among lovers of truth and if Nature parts with some of her secret treasures for man's benefits, he aspires for more, and with the clue thus unwarily afforded by her seeks, by dint of assiduous labour and strenuous effort, to unearth even the last jealous belonging that she might have concealed in the innermost depths of her sacred bosom. Hopes are not entertained by Biologists that some day the origin of life itself which is the accepted datum and starting-point of organic evolution will yield to the scrutiny of science and thus even the last inscrutable will finally become a commonplace phenomenon, as commonplace as wind, rain, snow, or lightning with no wonder or importance investing it and with nothing of the miraculous shrouding it, presupposing the intervention and initiation of a Deity.

Whatever may be the grounds upon which such a hope is entertained, no way is at present open of positively contending against the position that the phenomenon of life is inexplicable except on the supposition of an all-pervading spirit. Even if it should become possible at some future date to explain life by means of a definite combination of atoms under a definite collocation still the question will remain, why should the laws of development operate so as to produce life at that particular time and no other? And why should life be produced at all? Such questions cannot be answered except by the supposition of a Su-

preme Spirit. It may be that in doing so we are transcending the limits of rational postulation.

Agnosticism is no doubt an impregnable position to adopt ; but it miserably fails to satisfy the legitimate cravings of an inquiring mind. Speculate in the region of belief and arrive at some sort of conclusion and you seem to obtain true satisfaction. It is the spirit, then, that runs through the whole course of evolution. It is by means of the spirit that pervades the universe that evolution has gone on during the past. The very fact that this process of evolution savours of the grandest of aims, that in the earlier stages it had the perfection of life to achieve and in the latter the development of ethical humanity, and that the laws by which such ends can be realised are most perfect that can be conceived clearly indicates that it is not materialistic in character and that a supreme all-pervading spirit is guiding it, so as to produce in the end Ethical and Spiritual Beings of the greatest perfection. In his Inaugural address to the students of the Edinburgh University Prof. Seth points out the 'trifling and hollow character of the professions made by a Mechanical Teleology in the following words:—"The Philosophical Teleology of which I speak concerns itself only with the end of the whole evolution. It concentrates itself upon the proof that there is an end, that there is an organic unity or purpose binding the whole process into one and making it intelligible—in one word, that there is evolution and not merely aimless change. For, it is only when it is contemplated in the light of a realised idea that any one speaks of a series of changes as steps in an evolution. A speculation which does not see that evolution spells purpose has not made clear to itself the difference between progress and aimless variation. Such speculation rests ultimately on a purely mechanical view of the universe."

Purposive function is peculiar to Intelligence, and the highest purpose can only be conceived by the highest intelligence. In the first place, the question may be put, Why should all the natural causes contrive to produce a harmony in Nature? Why was life gradually perfected, and why should the laws now, tend towards a progressive development of Ethical Nature. We are unavoidably led to the conclusion that there must be some cause for such definite combinations of causes calculated to produce more and more highly perfected types of products.

Existence or mere Persistence of force may account for the particular cases of causation, but can never explain why the different forces are directed in a determinate manner towards the production and maintenance of a beautiful order in this universe. To explain a phenomenon by natural causation, nay, by evolution as the method of natural causation, is only to throw the difficulty a step back and postpone its real solution until a formal query is instituted as to the nature of ultimate causation itself. It thus seems that we are bound to regard the universal order of nature, an order which, besides being universal, is also constant and exact so as to render knowledge or experience attainable, as due to the action of an Intelligent Principle in determining such harmony of operation among the physical forces as is calculated to produce and maintain such a system. But what is the nature of this Intelligent Principle? We say it is of the nature of the human mind. By this we ought to understand only that the nearest analogue given of it in human experience is the human mind. It is however to be viewed as essentially different from such a mind for all practical purposes. The attribute of intelligence is to be regarded as belonging to that Divine Spirit in a degree reached only by an infinite extension of human intelligence and under conditions essentially different for all practical purposes from those under which such intelligence is commonly known to exist. It will thus be seen that this conception of the Deity is not anthropomorphic and is postulated only to afford, under the present conditions of our knowledge, the best possible and ultimate explanation of the general order and purpose in nature. It is not therefore relevant to ask of what avail is it to install a conception which, on careful examination, reduces itself to nothing? The conception as we have seen is not an absolute nothing. Though dim, it furnishes a resting place for the wandering mind and a satisfying explanation for the thousand-and-one queries of the pious inquirer. Supreme Intelligence inferred on the analogies given in human experience and exalted to a pedestal inaccessible to the human mind, seems to afford greater satisfaction to the anxious questioner than any peremptory mandate: "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." Proceeding to the farthest confines of reason we are told by the Agnostic "we must stop here there is no good proceeding farther." There may be no good; but where is the harm in speculating in the region of belief, if only by so doing an otherwise

irrepressible desire is gratified and a provisional answer is supplied to the question what is the nature of ultimate causation ?

There is yet another point which we cannot fairly pass over. Is there any beneficence implied in the successive stages of natural causation so as to enable us to infer morality of the supreme spirit. Does nature give us data for inferring morality of God ? Against the natural Theologian who asserts the existence of a conscious personal God and attributes beneficence to his designs, it is alleged that the constant warfare that has gone on in the course of evolution and that is still going on in the world, and the large amount of cruelty and pain suffered by the sentient creation do not certainly indicate any beneficence in the creator. The wide prevalence of the Law of suffering precludes the attribution of beneficence to the Creator. Millions of sentient organisms have been in a state of unceasing warfare, dread and pain during the incalculable past in their efforts to gain a footing in the World. Millions of lives are still snatched away under our very nose and millions of lives still tortured every moment by their more powerful antagonists. The Theologian in reply takes refuge under the unproved assumption that the sum of animal happiness preponderates over the sum of animal misery. Even supposing this to be true, it might still be asked why could not the so-called beneficent and omnipotent creator have so arranged his scheme of nature as to bring about "the fair order of Nature" without causing the slightest pain to any of the sentient creation ? The indiscriminate manner in which justice is meted out and punishments are inflicted in this world does not also argue beneficence in the ways of Nature.

It must be noted that from the point of view adopted here it is irrelevant to apply our conception of morality to the Supreme Spirit. To do so is to make the conception anthropomorphic. For aught we know there may be a moral justification (moral in a different sense) for these appearances of cruelty, pain and misery. All that we can say is, that in the course of Organic Evolution, all other ends including animal enjoyment appear to have been made subservient to the one chief end of perfecting life. In the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest pain has been in fact an essential condition to progress ; for, pains and pleasures are the subjective concomitants of destructive and wholesome changes in the organism, respectively, and that organism or species had the best chances of surviving in the strug-

gle in which sensibility to pain had been most developed and had thus served as an effective warning against the pursuit of such actions as lead to destructive changes in the organism. And this adjustment between the states of pleasure and wholesale changes in the organism brought on by certain kinds of stimuli and the states of pain and deleterious changes in the organism brought on by certain other kinds of stimuli has been through numberless generations in the past successfully accomplished by natural selection. The very origin of sentience or sensibility to pleasure and pain may be traced to natural selection; and when it was first evolved presumably for the purpose of providing the organism with an easier, more rapid and more refined means of adjusting itself to the environment in which it is placed it had to be organised in such a manner that it may serve this purpose. States of pleasure were then connected with wholesome changes in the organism and states of pain with disruptive changes; so that only those animals survived which found pleasure in what was beneficial to life and pain in what was injurious to it. Pleasure and pain, therefore, must both be present in sentient nature and are both necessary for progress. They are to be viewed only as different aspects of one and the same condition to progress under evolution by natural selection. They are thus simply the incidents of natural causation and no preponderance of either of them over the other should be taken to signify the beneficence or the reverse of the Supreme Spirit that immanently works out the general order of the cosmos through his inviolable laws.

Now it is the Supreme Spirit that pervades the whole Universe and that, being immanent in the natural forces, so collocates and adjusts them as by producing the perfection of life and the expansion of intelligence develops and fosters altruistic nature to such an extent that ultimately other selves are perceived as identical with self and that all selves are realized as the simple reflections of itself, *viz.*, the Supreme Spirit. The rudimentary reproductive act consisting in the first animal cell splitting itself into two cells is rightly regarded by Drummond as the root of Altruism in nature, but has been shown by us to proceed from a love of self in so far as the cell must die if it does not so divide itself. When the cell divides itself into two cells we say that the spirit out of a love for itself appears in two forms. If the division of the primitive cell into cells is only a process of discontinuous growth and if the belief in and all-pervading

Supreme Spirit is also countenanced, then it follows that the two cells are only different forms of one and the same spirit. The two unicellular organisms being thus only two forms of the same spirit, have an inherent attraction towards each other but the attraction is so feeble on account of the grossness of the form and of the deficiency of the intellect, and is so much overlaid by other facts that we are led to suppose that there is nothing of that kind of attraction, nay that there is even a kind of a repulsion between them. As, however, higher forms of life are ushered into existence by the process of natural selection this tendency becomes more pronounced. Though the two factors of the struggle for life and the struggle for the life of others have run on side by side ever since evolution began, yet the operation of the former has been more virulent and relentless in the earlier stages in view to the end of perfecting life and has become less and less poignant in the latter stages, while the operation of the latter in the earlier stages has been so insignificant and so far overpowered by its rival as to be rendered completely ineffective, and has developed only gradually until it acquired enormous strength in Human Society. Accordingly this inherent tendency for attraction between the primitive cells gets thoroughly obscured in the more vehement struggle for life and vindicates its existence only by the formation of regular colonies of such unicellular organisms and by the gradual differentiation of functions among the cells of such colonies on the economic principle of the division of labor so as to form a hierarchy of them and thus enable the multicellular organism as a whole to successfully adjust itself to its environment and save itself from being swept away in the universal struggle for life. It will thus be seen that even in the first start in the evolution of life what might be regarded as the precursor of the ethical bond has as its chief aim the equipment of the organism for making a bold stand against the destructive forces developing in the course of the struggle for life. This co-organization of individual cells in the Metazoan as well as the formation of a colony of cells in the higher Protozoal life, is, as we understand it, distinctly indicative of the rudimentary bond of attraction which also develops on the same lines as every other fact in the organic universe. As individuals multiply in number this rudimentary bond also develops, but develops only in those circumstances in which by reason of sameness of area and similarity of conditions the habits of life become identical and oppor-

tunities for contact are rendered more frequent. In other circumstances (*i. e.*,) in those in which the individuals wander away from one another the growth of the bond is considerably stifled by the dissimilarity in the habits of life and by the absence of opportunities for coming in contact. The bond however is there and shows itself only when in some subsequent stage in evolution, when the first dawning of perception takes place, there is a dim recognition of identity in regard to the possession of animal attributes among organisms that are descended from ancestors that had long remained separated from each other and had lived entirely different modes of life and that are now brought face to face to each other by some causes natural or adventitious. It must always be remembered that the development of this bond in any circumstances is at every step checked and limited by the overwhelming counteraction of the struggle for life. When the mutual recognition above alluded to between organisms that had been evolved in remote corners of the globe and that are now brought together by accident takes place, the possibility of its continuance and its subsequent accentuation is wholly subject to the absence at the moment of those rigorous agencies that cause and maintain the struggle for life, hunger, climate, and competition.

We have already hinted that this rudimentary bond of attraction among primitive organisms owes its very existence and further development to the spirit that is immanently present in them and works out their evolution according to certain fixed well-ordered methods. We are told by modern evolutionary science that the process of reproduction in the Protozoan by fission is only a process of discontinuous growth; that is to say the several organisms into which the primitive organism splits itself are to be viewed only as different parts of one whole. In a purely mechanical explanation of the species or of organic evolution, the start is made with this whole of a living organism without any explanation of how life is introduced; and consequently the subsequent products of evolution brought into existence by the operation of certain natural laws are to be viewed in accordance with the above interpretation as only so many physical fractional parts of one whole. In the theistic explanation of evolution, discussed in the foregoing pages, the Supreme Spirit, the necessity for the postulation of which has already been vindicated, is assumed to be immanent in the natural laws and their

action, and to be working out the end of the world's development by a purposive adjustment of those laws. The binary division or discontinuous growth of the primitive cell is then the appearance of the same spirit in two forms according to the view adopted here. As organisms multiply according to the laws of evolution it is still the same spirit appearing in so many forms. And it is also owing to this fact that the different organisms are only different forms of the 'same spirit that there is an inherent tendency for attraction among them. And this tendency for attraction on which sufficient stress has been laid and which is to develop into the future ethical bond, increases in strength as life gets more and more perfected. This, it will be seen, ought to mean that there is a gradual progress made towards the Spirit appearing in the various forms of the animals recognising itself as one and the same. As life gets more and more perfected and reason develops the principle of sympathy of likeness and the principle of co-operation, developing in the course of the evolution of perception and reason, considerably facilitate the growth of this bond until at last this bond assumes the name of ethical union among individuals of the most advanced type. Among such individuals Altruism develops with the development of intelligence, which in its turn receives a fresh impetus of growth from this advanced altruistic nature, in so far as the kindly co-operation and willing renunciation implied in such a nature are highly favourable to the expansion of knowledge and enlightenment in regard to ultimate truths. Altruism and knowledge thus act and react upon each other, and the highest development of Altruism in individual nature, which goes hand in hand with the highest degree of enlightenment, ought to mean the unconscious doing unto others as if towards self. The perfection of Altruism being assumed here as the ultimate goal of progress the individuals of the most highly perfected type will gradually learn to merge their own interests in those of others until they arrive at the stage when this process of merging becomes so complete that the altruistic conduct is pursued as if towards self unconsciously. This it seems to me is the highest and the noblest conception of perfect ethical nature. Automatic altruistic activity begotten of deliberate practice of the same for generations, or, in other words, doing virtuous actions or actions involving very great self-sacrifice without any thought of a return, or, again, performance of altruistic deeds, as if prompt

ed by the instinct of self for its own preservation and enjoyment, is a conception of ethical perfection which is second to none in sublimity and grandeur. When this stage is reached, when the individuals of the Ethical Community have come closest together when they have learnt to almost identify their own interests with those of others, the enlightenment which has already reached its acme of perfection through various sources receives its final instalment of a glow from this greatest devotion to duty and the highest regard for the interests of others, culminating in the closest attachment of spirit to spirit, there dawns upon the the spirit the fresh knowledge that the differentiation as individuals is only apparent, that all selves are but one and are but the manifestations of the Supreme Spirit. This is the course which evolution seems destined to take. The progressive development of Altruism, immanently guided through immutable laws by the Supreme Spirit, will end in the thorough identification of interests and eventually in the dawning of the light that all selves are identical and are but the adumbrations of the Supreme Spirit. In this self realization, again, *i. e.*, in this understanding of the real nature of Self is implicated the ethical consummation, ethical conduct reducing itself practically to conduct towards self and all altruistic considerations resolving themselves into considerations towards self.

It will thus be seen that Altruism which began in self-love has ended in self-love. We saw that the struggle for the life of others indicated in the binary division of the primitive cell arose out of the struggle for life and we now see that the march of Altruism towards the goal of perfection, which is simply the march of the same struggle for others under a different name, has ended in the performance of duty with the knowledge, that the individual towards whom or for whose benefit the duty is performed is none other than Self or the Supreme Spirit. This is just as it ought to be ; for, it is a phenomenon of cyclic evolution that that which comes later goes earlier and that which comes earlier goes later, and accordingly, the root of self-sacrifice which was observed to be implicated in the root of self-love was still posterior to it in time, and in the realisation of self as one with the other selves and with the Supreme Spirit all Altruism seems really to vanish. That Altruism thus culminates in self-realisation is in itself a proof of the fact that its ultimate foundations ought to be sought not in the devices of

man to maintain his supremacy over the sentient creation, nor in any principle other than that which sustains and guides the progressing universe, but in the blissful exercise of thought of that Supreme Principle itself an exercise indulged in for the sake of its attendant bliss or enjoyment, and resulting in all the glorious expansion in the living and the non-living of the universe with the immutable natural laws, guiding its progress in solemn silence and significant perfection.

These conclusions to which we are inevitably led by adopting the latest scientific development of theistic ethics and by supposing an immanent spirit in the ways of evolution are in perfect accord with the conclusions on the same subject reached by the Vedânta Philosophy. The ethics of the Vedânta prescribe that the end of ethical action is the liberation of soul from *Sanchita Karma* or past deeds in expiation of one or more of which this form of existence is allotted for the soul. By performing virtuous actions in this and subsequent lives, the *Sanchita Karma* might be gradually extinguished until its total annihilation leads to true knowledge, *i.e.*, knowledge of the identity of the soul with other souls and with Brahman. There is the difference however that, whereas in the ethical progress we have sketched out in the foregoing pages, ethical perfection is reached by the gradual evolution of more and more perfected types of spirit by means of heredity and other natural causes, the ethical acquisitions of the father being handed down to the son in the form of increased ethical capabilities or tendencies in the same direction, in the Ethics of the Vedânta the soul in its progressive transmigrations, as regulated by Karma, does not pass from father to son but from one animal frame to another, carrying on its back all the load of past Karma and lightening the load in each career of life by the performance of virtuous deeds, until in the most perfect animal frame a rigorous adherence to virtue enables it to gain its freedom from the bondage of Karma and obtain re-union with Brahman. The heredity of the Vedânta must be viewed purely in a spiritual light and humanity being regarded as one whole, the sins of a remote ancestor may be visited on the child and the iniquities of a member of a Royal household may be expiated in the succeeding generation by the noble deeds of a humble peasant. The Vedântist asserts that the performance of virtuous deeds leads to true

knowledge, *i.e.*, the recognition of the identity of the soul with Brahman. He also says that such deeds, in order that they may tend to the realisation of the aforesaid end, should be performed in the right spirit, *i.e.*, regardless of the benefits to self as the result of such performance. After true knowledge is attained it is not necessary that the worldly concerns should be given up altogether. A man may attain to true knowledge and yet live in this world doing good deeds and ministering to the comforts of his fellow-beings. Though the immediate motive to virtue is the annihilation of past Karma and the attainment of eternal bliss in true knowledge, yet the ultimate sanction for virtuous conduct is, in the view of the Vedântist, furnished by the light lodged within. In other words, the knowledge of the individual soul that it is one with the other souls and with Brahman is the internal prompting for virtuous conduct. But this light is prevented from serving as a practical guide on account of *Avidya* or ignorance which envelops it. It is rendered serviceable, however, by the teachings of the sacred books and by the examples of the sages. This internal prompting for morality, it will be noted, corresponds to the inherent tendency for attraction and its subsequent developments in the higher stages of evolution. The worldly benefits accruing from the practice of virtue are accounted in our scheme as efficiently operative towards the strengthening of the internal prompting in the earlier stages of ethical development. In the later stages absolute indifference to the results of acts is what itself comes to be the aim of ethical action in the course of Evolution. In concluding, I cannot do better than quote the words of Professor Max Müller on the nature of the law of Karma and its influence upon human character—"If a man feels that, what without any fault of his own he suffers in this life can only be the result of some of his own former acts he will bear his suffering with more resignation like a debtor who is paying off an old debt. And if he knows besides that in this life he may by suffering not only pay off his old debts, but actually lay by moral capital for the future, he has a motive for goodness which is not more selfish than it ought to be. The belief that no act whether good or bad, can be lost, is only the same belief in the moral world which our belief in the preservation of force is in the physical world. Nothing can be lost. And however sceptical we may be on the power of any ethical teaching and

its influence on the practical conduct of men and women, there can be no doubt that this doctrine of Karma has met with the widest acceptance and has helped to soften the sufferings of millions and to encourage them not only in their endurance of present evils but likewise in their efforts to improve their future condition."

A. SUBRAMANYA AIYAR.

THE USE TO INDIA OF HER RESIDENT EUROPEAN CHRISTIANS.

HERE is no more proper exercise of the faculty of statesman-like prescience, than the forming of a correct judgment as to when a question or a measure shall come within the domain of practical politics. The dream of the few becomes, in the story of a land, the reality of the public, after a few fleeting generations. Fifty years ago, the man who predicted the consolidation of the vast territories, over which Her Britannic Majesty's Viceregent now exercises the sway of his high office, would have scarcely dared to give his forecast utterance, and had he done so, it would only have made him the laughing stock of his day and hour. A quarter of a century ago, the now declared aspirations of what is known as the Congress party, had not taken shape even in the breasts of the first-fruits of Pan-Indian patriotism.

But the march of events has been strangely accelerated, and the liberal-minded on-looker, whether himself an Asiatic, a European, or an American, is ready to admit that the huge mass, welded together by the force of arms, and congealed by the compressing forces of an alien legislation, is already beginning to acquire a cohesion and a shapeliness, that hold out fair grounds for the expectation, that when in due time the swathing bands are removed, there will stand forth a political product, well fitted to take and maintain a recognised position amongst the Powers of the civilised world.

The composition of the amalgam is no doubt extraordinarily complex, but hardly more so than that of the great American Power, of which the very name legitimately proclaims its cohesion. When India is ready to stand alone, indeed before India is ready, it may reasonably be anticipated that many of the sub-divisions of the days of her anarchical chaos, will have disappeared, and that the major divisions which will alone survive when her cosmos has been achieved, will be much better material from which to conceive concerted action, than was that from which

the United States emerged from the final fusing and consolidation of their great Civil War.

But there is one community which stands on a different footing to all the others by which this vast territory is peopled. It is a community which to-day is but of very small numerical strength, and yet is already asserting its claims to recognition. It is a community which, it may safely be assumed, will develop rapidly both in numbers and influence in the near future, because it is the community which, before all others, is the result of the process by which India is being shaped and coagulated into being coherent, into becoming cohesive. In one of the "Imperialist" speeches, by which the present Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Chamberlain, has so greatly increased his personal influence within the last ten years, he says,

"You cannot have omelettes without breaking eggs; you cannot destroy the practices of barbarism, of slavery, of superstition, which for centuries have desolated the interior of Africa, without the use of force."

India, at her worst, was never in so pitiable a condition as that to which the darkest parts of the 'Dark Continent' were reduced. But in India there has been, and to some extent there still is, a necessity for the employment of an alien force; eggs had to be broken, to make the omelette of the internal peace and order, which, it is hoped, may go, from strength to strength, until there arrives to her a Public Opinion, and a great National Conscience, such as are the mainsprings of the political life of the great American Commonwealth.

This alien force has not been, and will not be by any means confined to military operations, though these naturally show the largest pile of broken egg-shells. There have been legislative operations, mercantile operations, and above all educational operations, which have owed their conception and their achievement alike to the *force majeure* of the British raj, and in and for the conduct of which there has been a constant stream of what, were India as sparsely populated as America, Australasia, and Africa, would have been styled here as they are styled there— "Emigrants," or rather "Immigrants." Most of these it is true have never contemplated, on leaving their native land, any change of domicile, and the European man has yet to be discovered who, finding himself successful in India, has announced

his desire to be naturalised as an "Indian,"—as a citizen still of the empire, but no longer as a Britisher but as a British Indian.

Still, for many generations, India has been receiving "immigrants" from Great Britain and Ireland, whose presence in the land has had very marked effect upon its destinies. To them she owes her laws, her commerce, her educational institutions, and, if the British troops are included, to them she owes her internal peace so essential to the enjoyment of the other institutions.

This is not the place to stop to consider what price India has paid; it may have been a fair wage, it may have been, (it probably has been, human nature being human,) unfairly excessive.

What concerns the question now under consideration is, that the outcome of all these generations of "immigrants," is to-day a factor in Indian politics, and will develop into a still more important one, before India finds herself standing alone.

The Government of India upon occasions terms the community of these immigrants and their descendants, whether of pure or mixed marriages, "*European Christians*," and it is a convenient name by which to embrace India's immigrant population from Europe, whether of the first or succeeding generations.

What use will India as a Power find for this class of her subjects, and what will be their political position?

To deal with the second question first, it may safely be asserted that these immigrants and their descendants, will, in an Independent, self-governing India, be a very different body to what they have been in the past or are to-day.

'John Company Bahadur' kept special rods in pickle for immigrants who did not wear the collar of his own service; he called them 'Interlopers', and did his best to suppress or deport them.

Under 'the mild sovereignty of the Queen', the non-official immigrant has no doubt fared better, but he is still repressed with all the force that the official element dares to display. The "Warrant of Precedence," the "Private Entre'e List," know him not, whilst the son perhaps of his father's game-keeper—a 'competition-wallah'—refers to him gracefully as a 'box-wallah'!

But to suppress, or to repress, the immigrant a fellow-countryman, clothed with a modicum of brief authority, is required. Or, to put it differently, the non-official immigrant, when he no

longer has to deal with a strong official bureaucracy composed of men of his own race, may safely be counted upon to assert himself, in the same sort of way, if not to the same extent, as his fellow in the other continents.

It will not be practicable, nor will it be the policy, of a native Indian bureaucracy, to improve the European Christian immigrant off the face of India. It is, on the contrary, to be expected, that this community will be recognised by its pure Asiatic fellow-citizens of the new Power as an important political factor. And, looking to the success which has attended the efforts of the Anglo-Saxon at self-assertion elsewhere in the world of to-day, it does not seem unfair for an Englishman, though writing in a pure Asiatic organ, to predict, that the 'European Christian' citizen of India will claim and obtain his full share of the loaves and fishes of official employment by the State.

It is at least conceivable, it is more than probable that the English language will be increasingly recognised as that of the Supreme Courts of Judicature, of the Academies, of the higher ranks of the press, and of the marts of an independent India. For, by the time she stands forth as a self-governing Power, it may well be, that a Federation of the great British colonies will have borne their part with their mother-country, and with the United States of America, in making English the language of wealth, and consequently of authority, throughout the world. Under such conditions the European Christian population of India, constantly recruited as it is sure to be by succeeding generations of immigrants from the West, will acquire a fresh and special importance as one of the strongest links between Independent India and the other civilised Powers of the day.

Has not the time already arrived, when those who are seeking to prepare India for her future, should frankly recognise the change we have indicated as likely to occur, and find the truest wisdom in a policy of inviting Western immigrants to come in and help them? It should perhaps be explained that reference is not made here to the British official in India, large as is the part that he plays to-day in the great work of this preparation. His labours are and must be altruistic,—they are analogous to those of a veteran sovereign, setting his realm in order, with a view to his own final abdication of power.

No, the men referred to are those fore-runners of the future politicians of an Independent India, who are feeling their way

on India's hill ranges and uplands,—places which compare favourably with the best tracts of Rhodesia. When will steps be taken towards encouraging foreign immigrants to come out, and people these territories? The British Government has had its hands, no doubt, more than full, with governing the population it found ready made upon its occupation of its Indian territories. But even to it, there might surely have been given the wisdom to see, how India would gain by an addition to her population, which would indeed add to its numbers, but would decrease the difficulty of her too great dependence on other lands for her wants?

There is a school of Anglo-Indian statesmen and politicians,—perhaps the wisest and best school,—which finds for India her safest frontier from invasion by land, in pathless tracts of country sparsely inhabited by tribe of Ishmaelites. When will there be a school of Indian statesmen and politicians, which shall see the wisdom of gaining for India an immigrant population all over the high ground of her vast systems of Hill ranges?—a population which, as a political factor, will always be in too much of a numerical minority to be a source of danger to the independence of India at large, but which will, more than any other factor, contribute to make India vertebrate for self-government, coherent for the preservation of her autonomy.

Precautions would have to be taken: terms and conditions could, fairly and properly, be imposed. No land, for example, should be given to a temporary sojourner. He alone should be eligible for the tenure of land, who should have been a certain time in the country, who should have shown himself possessed of some means, and who, before all, should have become a *naturalised Indian*. Coupled with these conditions should be a wise liberality, so that the result should be a population worth paying for, and that would mean one that had been paid for, an investment of India's national funds. The Colonies owe much of their prosperity to their discriminating encouragement of immigrants, an encouragement which entails an initial outlay by the Government which produces a manifold increase of revenue in after years. The future of India, were this policy adopted, would surely have special mention of the services to her of these her "Highlanders".

But it is not necessary to consider this question, of the utilisation of India's European Christian population, entirely from the

standpoint of a more or less distant future. There is one salient respect in which this community comes into the practical politics of our own day.

If the 'history of our own times' teaches one lesson more clearly than another, it is that England as a Power does not possess by her existing Military arrangements, sufficient Armies either in quantity or quality, to enable her to be true to herself in the event of the arrival of a universal war conflagration. India can indeed make out a strong case, for first call upon the services of such troops as England has, but it is hardly open to question that with Canada, Rhodesia, and Australia calling for help, India's claims, however righteous, (seeing how largely she has contributed to the up-keep, nay to the very creation, of those troops,) would be disregarded, and her progress towards consolidation be rudely interrupted, by her lands and her seas again becoming the battle-fields of belligerent Foreign Powers. To be ready for such a contingency can hardly be considered a policy of over-carefulness, or of meeting trouble half-way.

But without such a dire event taking place, can it be reasonably said that India is to-day receiving the best value obtainable, for the vast sums expended from her Treasuries, upon the Army of the empire? The answer to this question, from the standpoint of an Independent India, must be in the negative. There is no need to take a side, in the controversy as to the comparative merits of the Short Service and the Long Service systems, from the purely insular point of view. But even, if it be conceded that Lord Wolseley, and the other supporters of the Short Service rules, can make out a good case in England, it by no means follows that their arguments have equal force, when the merits of the two systems are under consideration, from the Indian point of view. For India, considered alone, the weight of evidence is in favor of a Long Service Army. It is found that, even in England, the introduction of the Short Service system has greatly militated against successful recruiting. In these days of Board Schools, the old class of victims of the Sergeant Kite of bygone years, has been replaced by shrewd scholars, who can appraise the value of a career as a Short Service soldier only too accurately. And each year swells the number of men who find themselves standing idle in the market-place, because, in the years they followed the colours, they have lost their aptitude for the trade, or handicraft, which had been their calling before they 'took the shilling.'

An extension of knowledge may reasonably be expected to make the English recruit still more shy, if he gets to know the extra risks of serving in India ;—the game will not be worth the candle.

Assuming that India decides that she had better spend her money on an Army of her own,—and the assumption is one that every foreseeing Asiatic Indian politician will feel justified in making,—it may safely be contended that there will always be found a necessity to have a considerable part of such Army composed of European Christians, who ought to be naturalised Indians.

The secret history of the present warfare on the Frontier has yet to be written, but there seems only too much reason to fear that the losses sustained by the British troops points to the presence amongst the enemy of men who have learned to fight, and more particularly learned to shoot, whilst serving with the British colours. The fighting value of some of the pure Asiatic troops is incontestable, but if once the uneasy feeling gains ground that they are only loyal to their salt whilst in actual receipt of it, their very valour becomes a source of danger instead of a bulwark of Defence to the State. And the intelligent Indian patriot will readily concede that, if the prestige of the British raj fails to keep its time-expired or discharged sepoys loyal to it, when no longer in receipt of British pay, there would be still more ground for apprehension, by an Independent India from the same direction.

It has been publicly alleged by their local Association,—and the statement has passed unchallenged by the high authorities to which it was made,—that there are already some five thousand of the Anglo-Indian and Eurasian communities, in the British Army, and there are an appreciable number of men of the same class, who have put in their term of Short Service, and are now back again in Civil life in India. Here is material, ready to the hand of India, from which to make up the full strength of the European Christian troops she will require, if she has a Long Service Army of her own. The words “make up” are used advisedly, for it will always be well to keep in such troops a leaven of men recruited in England. Because it is difficult to find there recruits who will volunteer to enlist for Short Service, it does not follow that there will be the same, or any difficulty, in finding men who will gladly embrace the career of a soldier, when it is a ‘career’—a practically life-long employment. The

East India Company proved the excellence of its material, when its Madras Fusiliers were hurried from Persia to take part in the fighting in 1857-58, and soldiering in India in those days was a far less attractive career than it is now, and will be in the future.

In short an Independent India could, with her large acreage of hill tracts still available, offer inducements to those serving in her Army, which would attract some of the best fighting material in the world. It is no flight of fancy to foresee the possibility of a 'Landwher' of such men as the Gordon Highlanders, whose praise is to-day in all men's hearts and mouths, created by grants of homesteads, with a condition of Military service attached to the tenure of them, and with the still more important condition of naturalisation as Indians.

This new race of Indian Highlanders would find it difficult, if not impossible, to surpass the pure Asiatic Highlander in some of the best qualities of the soldier, they could hardly be more brave, more keen, or more enduring. But it is not unfair to question whether the existing Asiatic Highlanders do not to some extent fall within the category of "fighting animals,"—splendid combatants, but creatures to whom fighting is the breath of the nostrils, indispensable to their existence. The Sikh is still a name to conjure with when Indian troops are talked of, but whilst his reputation still retains its quality, it is to be believed that the *quantity* of Sikhs who will bear arms, will decrease with each coming generation, as the attractions of a life of peace are increasingly developed under the new conditions of their native country. So when the Pathan, or the Afridi, or the Ghoorka, comes to have to make his election between life-long civilian ease, and soldiering with long spells of inaction, it may be expected that he too will cease to be a fighting man, and will declare in favor of peaceful pursuits.

In the "sometime European" Christian Highlander of the future, India would possess a class of subjects who would weigh correctly, as the Asiatic Highlander cannot do, the claims of the State upon them,—claims which may be summarised by saying, "Be orderly in times of peace, be soldierly in times of war." When the United States of America were suddenly plunged into Civil War, their "Army" upon paper was a wholly negligible quantity. Before the strife ceased, thousands upon thousands of men had received the baptism of fire, and re-United America

could have put upon any battle-field in the world, an army of veteran soldiers, which no European Power could have matched.

If India shows a wise encouragement to the right class of European immigrants, and regulates the numbers to whom such encouragement is shown, she will build up for herself a bulwark, the very presence of which will deter foreign invasion. It will no longer be an alien *raj*, (for England *is* an alien Power, however altruistic has been her rule of late years), protecting a wealth-giving appanage of its Crown. It will be a united independent India, one of the prominent component parts of which will be her, (what we may continue here to call), "European Christian" population.

It may be said that all that has been written above ought to be dismissed as a futile, and possibly a dangerous, chimera. But however crudely expressed, the ideas sought to be sketched out, are the outcome of some years of thought, and of a very earnest desire to serve both India at large, and her European Christian immigrant population, to which the writer belongs. And if these ideas give some food for reflection to the Asiatic leaders of thought who are shortly to assemble in Congress, it may be that they may yet prove the germ of a policy which will recognise, firstly, that India has to reckon with her European Christian population in her aspirations towards independence, and, secondly, that the hour is already at hand, if it has not indeed actually struck, when the "Congress" party will do well to see, what fair offers can, even now, be suggested to the existing Government, as offers which it would be to the benefit of India, to proffer to European Christian immigrants, who will come and throw in their lot with the Asiatics, as an integral part of the Independent India of the future.

FREDERIC ROWLANDSON.

THE UNREST IN INDIA.

“THE foundations of this Empire were laid long ago by men who clearly foresaw what might be done with India; it has been completed and organized in Her Majesty’s reign; the date of the Queen’s accession stands nearly half way in its short history, being exactly eighty years after Clive’s exploit at Plassey. *And the permanent consolidation of the union between Great Britain and India will demand all the political genius—the sympathetic insight as well as the scientific methods—of England, co-operating with the good will and growing intelligence of the Indian people.*” The sentence, I have italicized, gives in a few trenchant words the opinion of Sir Alfred Lyall, recently expressed in an interesting paper on “India under the Queen’s reign” in the *Nineteenth Century*; and if these words are pondered over it is not difficult to discover the reason for the “unrest”—to call the existent feeling by no harsher name—which has, for sometime past, made itself unmistakably felt in Hindustan. No critic—not even the most partial—of the Indian administration, would unhesitatingly—or for that matter, even after mature consideration—assent to the statement that the types of men who laid the foundation of English Empire in India, long years ago, are the same as those who now control the destinies of the people in this, as it is now fashionable to call India, “Land of regrets.” The great and good men, who—after the pardonable excesses characteristic of a conquering race—“clearly foresaw what might be done” with the Indian people, in singleness of heart and earnestness of purpose set themselves to the Herculean task of evolving order out of chaos; and stone by stone built up the edifice of Empire. It is a structure which is without a parallel in the history of humanity and is even now the envy of admiring nations. But construction is at all times more difficult of achievement than consolidation or disintegration. I use the words “consolidation and disintegration” advisedly, for it very frequently happens—paradoxically as it may seem—that both processes go on together coincidentally. Nature herself acts in this way. An advance is always balanced by a retreat.

But in human affairs—the disintegration sometimes is greater in its effect than the consolidation, and it is precisely this result that is one of the main causes of the discontent, the sullen resignation, arising from a hopeless despair—that, sometimes finds expression in puerile and desperate acts of hostility—which is, at present, characteristic of the Indian people—and be it here remarked, not only of the Indian people, but people in every land and every clime where waves the British flag. The press daily informs us of attack and outrages on Englishmen in Burmah, in the Straits Settlements, in Egypt, in Africa, on the Frontier—in short at all places where Englishmen hold the reins of power. It tells us also of the hatred that has sprung up amongst all nations against Englishmen, and why? It may be that, in the case of nations, England's unexampled prosperity is the cause of ill-feeling; but this very prosperity and power, in the case of alien people subject to English rule, should be a cause of rejoicing. Rudyard Kipling, with the precience that is the peculiar gift of the poet in his jubilee hymn shadows forth the reason, and his prayer

“Lord God of Hosts be with us yet
Lest we forget, lest we forget.”

will not have been written in vain if it teaches Englishmen that the absence of genuine sympathy, of generous conciliation, and a statesmanlike grasp of the conditions that environ peoples dependent on them for wise and just dealing, must, if not remedied in time, create disaffection and hatred and end in the loss of Empire. The situation undoubtedly demands “all the political genius—the sympathetic insight as well as the scientific methods” of our English rulers, and it should not be a matter of insuperable difficulty to the nation which has established this Empire to—by wholesome and judicious methods—to consolidate and bring about the true unity of East and West. I mean to make a digression for a moment, to indicate the remarkably short-sighted and inadequate views expressed in many quarters regarding the unrest in India. The Anglo-Indian Journalist with every desire to be impartial and explanatory—and to whom indigenous journalism is the *bête noir* of existence, points to the cause of the unrest as resulting from inflammatory articles in the Native Press and in the same breath unctiously rejoices in the conviction that the opinions in Native journals are not for one moment to be supposed as expressive of those of “the masses”—

because the masses have no opinions and never peruse the papers—obnoxious or otherwise! The apparent contradiction involved in this assertion is necessarily ignored or not thought of. Others, whose opinions are given as those of experts, unhesitatingly lay it down as an axiomatic truth that the emissaries of Turkey or Afghanistan are secretly undermining the confidence of the people—Mahomedans in particular—and inciting them to disloyalty and rebellion. Party-spirit, on the one hand, condemns in uncompromising terms the “forward policy” as answerable for frontier disasters and the disaffection of the Press; and on the other expatiates on the alienation of Indian money and Indian material—in the shape of Indian sepoys—for purely European obligations and necessities as the cause of the evil. Some blame the Government for the poverty of the people and say that, as the people have nothing to lose, they probably think there is everything to gain by a subversion of the existing order of things. The plague operations in Poona; the Age of Consent Bill; the lately enlarged Legislative Councils; inflammatory text books; the false interpretation of history, the suppression of pilgrimages and many other causes are advanced as *individually* responsible for the “unrest” so clearly visible in this Empire. Human Society is so complex and many-sided that it may be, that some, if not all, of these reasons may be responsible for individual persons being against the Government; and it must be said that some of the reasons advanced are certainly worthy of consideration in view to their being remedied. The last reason I have purposely abstained from including with the others. It is that “Higher Education” is responsible for the ferment going on—and that if India is to be retained, Higher Education must be withheld. While agreeing to some extent with the persons who say Higher Education is responsible for the leaven of discontent so manifest now, I cannot give my adhesion to the corollary that the Higher Education must be discontinued. The class of people who deprecate Higher Education being given to the people are in the same boat as the Anglo-Indian Journalist, because the higher education has not as yet touched even the outer fringe of the great mass of the Indian people—and it follows that if there is unrest among them—and that there is must be recognized by every impartial spectator of events—that feeling must be due to some other cause. There isn’t the shadow of a doubt, in my mind, that the higher education is responsible in

some measure for the discontent in the country ; because it has taught certain sections of the people to recognize the evils they are suffering from and to desire improvement, while other sections are able to discern inconsistencies and differences apparent to Englishmen themselves. It must not for a moment be supposed that because the masses are not educated they do not take an interest in the administration of affairs. Englishmen have lived for over a century in India, and it would be safe to say that few of them now in the administrative services understand the people as well as did their predecessors of a hundred years ago. The *chuppate* of the mutiny spread over the peninsula from Cuch to Calcutta and from Delhi to Cape Comorin in a few weeks ; and even now what is done and said at the Presidency towns is repeated a week after, with additions, and running commentaries, a thousand miles away. The facility of communication afforded by railways is a great factor in the spread of opinions and news. But quiescence is the characteristic of the people. Their lives are too barren of all that tends to stimulate thought or action, and so their inaction is taken for ignorance and their unremitting toil and ox-like resignation for contentment. It must not escape attention that the leading, the intellectual, class is always the true representative of a State ; and the leaven afforded by this class will eventually go to leaven the masses, and stir them to action. The remedy is clear, and that is—not the suppression of higher education, but its extension and greater diffusion. But then, in extending such education to the people, its value increases in proportion as it permits or encourages the natural tendency for development to be satisfied.

“ More life and fuller, ’s what we want

More life and richer, for which we pant.”

And if the additional and richer life bestowed by education is to bring in beneficial results the method of its extension must be scientific. By scientific diffusion of education is not meant—and my meaning I hope is tolerably clear—the teaching of Science, but education in accordance with the natural tendencies of the people. As Sir Arthur Havelock said the other day in Native Cochin—“ Let us not change the existing lamps for new ones but improve and brighten those already existing.” I will now return to the consideration of the “ consolidation and disintegration” which I have already alluded to, and indicate to the best of

my ability how these processes have to a very considerable extent tended to unsettle the minds of Indians. To a people yet in intellectual swaddling clothes, so far as regards all true knowledge is concerned, abrupt transitions, even in the matter of the most ordinary affairs, are a prolific source of distrust and alarm. Legislative interference, before the people have become thoroughly adapted to their environment or before the leaven of education has worked its influence—in regard to their most cherished convictions and customs, sanctified by time, has been productive of much ill-will. It is gruesome and positively repulsive to Englishmen to see a young girl married before the age of, say, 15 or 20; but if a tribe like the Afrides cannot be intimidated by 50 years of successful warfare against them, it is not to be supposed that a great people like the Indians can be made virtuous or be persuaded to relinquish time-honored customs—be they ever so barbarous—by the fiat of a law. The principle is right, but the application of it is faulty. So in other matters, notably the Poonah plague operations. To the ordinary caste Hindu the common European soldier is the very incarnation of all that is repellant, and—however nobly—and I firmly believe that that “very strong man”, Mr. Thomas Atkins, behaved himself as a gentleman, and fought the plague as nobly in the dens of Poonah as he did the Tribesmen in the Chakdara pass—he acted, and when the best and the utmost has been said the selection of European soldiers to invade the plague-stricken houses of the Deccan was a measure as unwise as it was inconsiderate. The consolidation aimed at in passing the Age of Consent Bill resulted in disintegration. Will Englishmen ever forget the cry of alarm raised by their countrymen in India and in England by the Ilbert Bill? And yet that measure, to a nation saturated with the intelligence of the West, and holding the dominant position in India, created a scare and an indignation that has not died down yet. I wish to be impartial, I wish to show how, in so comparatively trifling a matter, the disintegration proceeded a step further, and so in various other directions. At the same time, there are noble Europeans who, without seeking popular praise or favour, endeavour to uphold with honor, in season, and out of season, the justice and greatness of England. While these are consolidating slowly, the disintegrating process of faddists, ignorant of the peculiar idiosyncrasies of the Indian

people, and of the methods and modes of Government, goes on apace. Permanence of Government can only be secured even in England by the good-will and co-operation of the people. English kings and French Emperors furnish us with examples in this connection. "Brute force," says Professor Draper, "holds communities together as an iron nail binds pieces of wood by the compression it makes—a compression depending on the force with which it has been hammered in. It also holds more tenaciously if a little rusted with age. But intelligence binds like a screw." And now comes the method—"The things it has to unite must be carefully adjusted to its thread. It must be gently turned, not driven, and so it retains the cementing parts firmly together." The Indian Government has often used the nail in preference to the screw. A few more words and I have done. I compared, to their obvious disadvantage, the Englishmen of to-day with their predecessors of a century or more ago. The means of easy communication between England and India; the greater numbers of his compatriots in the country; the exclusiveness resulting therefrom and the consequent lack of knowledge of the Indian character act like so many wedges to separate the Englishman from the Indian. The Englishman of former days tried to know the people and the people came to know him. Now-a-days one does not know the other, and does not care to know, and so misunderstandings occur, and the breach—which naturally exists by reason of race, and colour, and religion, and speech—grows wider and deeper day by day. The "unrest" in India should not astonish the student of history. It should certainly be no sphinxia problem to the philosopher. "As knowledge grows from more to more," discontent must result and a little effervescence is to be expected. It took centuries before the Norman and the Saxon coalesced and became one nation. After centuries of unity (?) Ireland with folded hands stands aloof from England. Can it be expected then that Englishmen and Indians, widely diverse as they are, can be drawn into the bonds of friendship and amity without a little unrest,—without little explosions of one kind or another. The British Government, in my opinion, need not be alarmed. The manifestations of discontent and temper explain themselves, if carefully considered, in a very ordinary way, and are but indications that there is something wrong with the machinery of Government. The political genius of the English people

ought to be able to cope with the matter. A greater and more genuinely expressed sympathy for the Indian people, a studied and gentleman-like conciliation of, and consideration for, their weaknesses and their idiosyncrasies, and a statesman-like grasp of their condition—in every aspect of that term, is what is needed to banish, for ever, the “unrest” which has been provocative of so much discussion. In conclusion, I would deprecate Native journalists of some degree of reputation ascribing unworthy motives to Englishmen in the execution of their duty and vapouring about the future political extinction of either the British or the Indian people. The Indian people have as yet no political existence, and their political extinction is therefore impossible. Such remarks are certainly not calculated to bridge the ever-widening gap of hostility, which is now becoming so apparent, and which every lover of India should do his utmost to lessen.

S.

THE TAMILS : EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(*Continued.*)

THE principal officers of State were the high priest, the chief astrologer, the ministers and the commanders of the army.⁽¹⁾ There were special officers appointed to perform the duties of Judges and Magistrates : but the King was the supreme and final arbiter in all civil and criminal cases. The presiding Judge in each Court wore a peculiar headgear by which he was distinguished from other officers of the Court.⁽²⁾ Justice was administered free of charge to the suitors ; but the punishments were very severe and hence crimes were rare. A thief arrested with the stolen property in his possession was beheaded.⁽³⁾ A man caught in the act of adultery was killed.⁽⁴⁾ One who had trespassed into another's dwelling with the intention of committing adultery, had his legs cut off.⁽⁵⁾ Superstitious fears sometimes led the kings to commit acts of great cruelty in the name of justice. The orders of the king which concerned the people were proclaimed throughout his capital city with beat of drums, by officers riding on elephants.^(5a)

Customs, tolls and land-tax formed the chief sources of revenue. Customs were levied at all the sea-ports, where the goods landed were impressed with a seal bearing the royal emblem, and were removed to the merchant's warehouses after payment of duty.⁽⁶⁾ Tolls were collected on the trunk-roads used by caravans and at the frontiers of each kingdom.⁽⁷⁾ The land tax was paid in money or in kind at the option of the farmer. The tribute paid by vassal chiefs and princes, the booty gained in border expeditions, and the profits of royal demesnes, such as the pearl fishery, wild elephants and forest produce, also formed a considerable portion of the king's income.

(1) Chilapp-adikâram, xxvi. ll. 3 and 4.

(2) Maduraik-kâñchi, l. 494.

(3) Chilapp-adikâram, xx. ll. 64 and 65.

(4) Nâladīyâr.

(5) Ibid.

(5a) Chilapp-adikâram, xxiii. ll. 130, 131.

(6) Paddinap-pâlai, ll. 125 to 135.

(7) Perum-pân-ârrup-padai, l. 81.

The king was the head of society as well as of the Government. He freely mixed with the people, though surrounded as usual by his bodyguards and other attendants. He took the lead in every festivity in his capital; and in times of famine or pestilence he was foremost to perform penances or sacrifices. He shared the joys and sorrows of the people, or at least, the etiquette of the Court compelled him to do so. The people were so much attached to some of their sovereigns, that there were instances of the population of whole villages forsaking their homes and fields, and settling within the territory of their own king, when an invader had taken possession of their villages.⁽⁸⁾ On every festive occasion, whether in the public temples or in private dwellings, prayers were offered by the people for victory and long life to their king. "May (our king) Athan live for ever! may (our king) Avini live for ever! So prayed my mother," says a maiden to her companion, on her return from the temple, "but, I prayed in silence, may (my lover) the lord of many a fertile field return home speedily."⁽⁹⁾

The distinction of the four castes Brahma, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra, observed by the Aryas, did not exist amongst the Tamils. The expression "twice-born" applied by Aryans to those who were sanctified by the investiture of the sacred thread, was always used in Ancient Tamil literature to denote only the Brahmins, and it is evident therefore that the Kshatriya and Vaisya who wore the sacred thread were not known in Tamīlakam. Amongst the pure Tamils the class most honored was that of the *Arivar* or "sages." They pretended to know the three stages of time, that is, the past, present and future. They led a retired and religious life, dwelling outside the great towns. While the Brahmins were not unwilling to mix in the society of courtezans and prostitutes,⁽¹⁰⁾ and acted as messengers between lovers, the "sages" strictly avoided them.⁽¹¹⁾

Next in rank to the *Arivar* were the *Ulavar* or farmers. The *Arivar* were ascetics: but of the men living in society, the farmers occupied the highest position. They formed the nobili-

(8) Kalith-thokai, s. 78.

(9) Ainkuru-nuru. ss. 1 to 10.

Kalith-thokai, s. 103, 104, 105, 106.

(10) Tholkāppiyam, III. s. 502.

Kalith-thokai, s. 72. ll. 17 to 20.

Chilapp-adikāram, xiii. ll. 71 to 82.

(11) Tholkāppiyam III, s. 503.

ty, or the landed aristocracy, of the country. They were also called the *Vellâlar*, "lords of the flood," or *Karalar*, "lords of the clouds," titles expressive of their skill in controlling floods and in storing water for agricultural purposes. The Chera, Chola and Pandyan kings, and most of the petty chiefs of Tamila-kam belonged to the tribe of Vellâlas. The poor families of Vellâlas who owned small estates were generally spoken of as the *Veel-kudi-Ulavar* or "the fallen Vellâlas," implying thereby that the rest of the Vellâlas were wealthy land-holders. (12) When Kari-kâl the Great defeated the Aruvâlar and annexed their territory to his kingdom, he distributed the conquered lands amongst Vellâla chiefs. (13) The descendants of some of these chiefs are to this day in possession of their lands, which they hold as petty Zemindars under the British Government. (14) They are now known as *Mudalis* or "the First Caste." The Vellâla families who conquered Vadukam, or the modern Telugu country, were called Velamas, and the great Zemindars there still belong to the Velama caste. In the Canarese country, the Vellâlas founded the Bellâl dynasty which ruled that country for several centuries. The Vellâlas were also called the Gangakula or Gangavamsa, because they derived their descent from the great and powerful tribe named Gangâvidæ which inhabited the valley of the Ganges, as mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy. A portion of Mysore which was peopled mostly by Vellâlas was called Gangavâdi in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era. Another dynasty of kings of this tribe who ruled Orissa in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was known as the Gangavamsa.

The *Aiyar* and *Vedduvar*, or the shepherds and huntsmen, were next in rank to the *Ulaver*. (15) Below the shepherds were the artizans such as Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Pot-
ters &c., and after them came the military class that is the *Pa-daiâdchier* or the armed men. Last of all were the *Vulayar* and *Pulayar* or the fishermen and scavengers.

When men of the higher classes passed in the streets, the lower classes made way for them. (16) The Pulayan or scavenger on meeting a nobleman bowed before him, with both his

(12) Chilapp-adikaram, V. l. 43.

Pura-nânuru, s. 230, l. 13.

(13) Thondai-mandalap-paddiyam.

(14) The Zemindars of Cheyâr, Chunampet, &c., in the Chingleput District.

(15) Kalith-thokai, s. 105, l. 7.

(16) Chilapp-adikâram, xvi, l. 107.

hands joined in a posture of supplication.⁽¹⁷⁾ Slavery was however unknown amongst the Tamils, and this is strong evidence of their superior civilisation in this early period.

The division of classes amongst the Tamils as described above bears a striking resemblance to that of the people of the Ancient Magadha Empire as recorded by Megasthenes. According to him, the population was divided into seven classes. The *first* in rank were the philosophers: but in point of number they formed the smallest class. They were engaged by private persons to offer sacrifices and to perform other sacred rites. The king invited them at the beginning of the year to his palace, and at a great gathering they forewarned the multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and about calamities which may befall the State. These sages went about naked, living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer in meadows and low grounds under shady trees. The *second* class consisted of the husbandmen who devoted the whole of their time to tillage. They paid a fourth part of the produce of their soil, as tribute to their king. Herdsmen and hunters formed the *third* class. They led a wandering life tending their cattle on the hills, and living in tents. They paid their tribute in cattle, and received an allowance in grain from the king for clearing the land of wild beasts and birds which devour the seeds sown in the fields. The *fourth* class comprised those who worked at trades, vended wares, or were employed as labourers. Armourers and all artizans came under this class. The fighting men formed the *fifth* class. They were maintained at the king's expense, and had only military duties to perform. In times of peace they spent their time in idleness and drinking. The *sixth* class consisted of overseers, whose business it was to spy out what was going on in country and town, and report everything to the king or the magistrate. The *seventh* class consisted of councillors who advised the king or the magistrates of self-governed cities in the management of public affairs. The custom of the country forbade intermarriages between the classes, and no one was allowed to change from one class to another. For instance, a husbandman cannot become a herdsman, nor can he take a wife from the herdsman or artizan class. An exception was made in favor of the philosopher alone, who may be from any class, for his

(17) Kalith-thokai, s. 55. ll. 18 and 19.

life was not an easy one, and few attained the gift of prophecy. (18)

In the above description of the classes of society in ancient Magadha Megasthenes was clearly mistaken in reckoning spies or overseers and councillors as separate classes. The other classes correspond exactly with those amongst the ancient Tamils. This division of society amongst the Tamils and Magadhas seems to show that they belonged to a nation which had emerged out of barbarism at a very remote period, and had enjoyed a settled form of Government, free from violence and bloodshed, for several centuries. Their civilization was certainly older than that of the Ariyas, for amongst the latter the fighting men were next in rank to the priests, whereas amongst the Tamils, the farmers were next to the religious men, and the military class was below even that of the herdsmen and artizans.

The Brahmins who had begun to settle in Tamilakam, at least five or six centuries earlier than the period which I describe, tried to foist their caste system on the Tamils. In the earliest Tamil Grammar extant, which was composed by a Brahmin named Tholkâppiyam, in the first or second century B.C., frequent allusions are made to the *Arivar* or "Sages." (19) But in the chapter in which he describes the classes of society, the author omits all mention of the *Arivar*, and places the Brahmins who wear the sacred thread as the first caste. (20) The kings, he says very guardedly, and not warriors, form the second caste, as if the three kings Chera, Chola and Pandya could form a caste; all who live by trade belong to the third caste. He does not say that either the kings or the merchants wear the sacred thread. Then he singles out the Vellalas and states that they have no other calling than the cultivation of the soil. Here he does not say that the Vellalas are Sudras, but indirectly implies that the ordinary Vellalas should be reckoned as Sudras, and that those Vellalas who were kings should be honored as Kshatriyas. This is the first attempt made by the Brahmins to bring the Tamils under their caste system. But in the absence of the Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra castes in Tamilakam, they could not possibly succeed; and to this day the Vellala does not

(18) McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, pp. 41 to 44, and 83 to 86.

(19) Tholkâppiyam III, ss 75, 193, 503, 510.

(20) Tholkâppiyam III, Chapter Marayipal.

take meals or drink water at the house of a Padaiyadchi, who calls himself a Kshatriya or a merchant who passes for a Vaisya. Tholkâppiyam alludes also, in his grammar, to the *Ayar* and *Ved-duvvar*, or the shepherds and huntsmen, but in the chapter on castes, he makes no mention either of them or of the Maravar, Valaiyar, Pulaiyar and other classes, as he could not do it without being inconsistent to the Brahminical division of castes.

The dress worn by the Tamil people varied according to their rank in society and the race to which they belonged. Men of the middle classes, amongst the pure Tamils, ordinarily wore two pieces of cotton cloth, one wrapped round the loins, and reaching to the knees and the other loosely tied round the head.⁽²¹⁾ They did not cut their hair but allowed it to grow to its natural length, and gathered it up on the crown of the head or tied it in a large knot on one side. Coloured strings of silk with glittering blue beads were used by the higher classes to fasten the head knot, and the ends of the strings were allowed to hang like a tassel.⁽²²⁾ A Marava chieftain who belonged to the Naga race wore a cloth bound to his waist by a blue strap, and had peacock feathers stuck in his head.⁽²³⁾ Brahmins cropped their hair leaving a small tuft on the top of the head. A Tamil compares the tuft of hair on a horse's head to the short hair on the heads of Brahmin youths.⁽²⁴⁾ The soldiers employed to guard the public thoroughfares, and the servants in the king's palace wore coats.⁽²⁵⁾ In this ancient period, a full dress appears to have been the outward sign of a servant rather than of a master: and the nobles put on only so much clothing as can be worn without discomfort in a hot climate.

In the ordinary dress of the Tamil woman, the shoulders, arms and body down to the waist were entirely bare, the drapery descending from the loins downwards to the ankles.⁽²⁷⁾ The part of the body which was left uncovered was generally rubbed over with sandal and other fragrant powders.⁽²⁷⁾ The Naga women appear to have been almost naked like those depicted in

(21) Pura-nânuru, s. 189.

(22) Pura-nânuru. s. 150.

(23) Ibid, s. 274.

(24) Tholkâppiyam, III, p. 470. Thamotharam, Pillai's edition.

(25) Perum-pânârrup-padai, l. 69.
Chilapp-adikâram, xvi. l. 107.

(26) Kalith-thokai, ss. 111 and 115.

(27) Ibid, s. 18. l. 3.

the Amaravati sculptures. The courtezans wore a piece of muslin which covered their body from the waist to the middle of the thigh : but it was of such fine texture that it hardly concealed their person.⁽²⁸⁾ The women of the hill tribes wore bunches of green leaves tied to a string round their waist. ^(29.) The wives of wandering minstrels called Pânar, who accompanied their husbands during their travels, are described as perfectly nude.⁽³⁰⁾ In fact, nudity does not appear to have been a disgrace in ancient India.

The Tamil women wore their hair in a peculiar fashion. They divided it into five parts, twisted or plaited each part separately, and tied up the five tufts allowing the ends to hang down the back of the head in the manner they considered most graceful. They seem to have bestowed much care on the training of the hair, for it is stated that it was the custom for young girls to crop their hair with scissors, so close as to expose the skin of the head leaving five small tufts far apart from each other : and as the girls grew up, they gradually extended the tufts till they covered the whole surface of the head.⁽³¹⁾ This custom of women dividing their hair into five parts, before tying it up, still exists, as I understand, amongst the Burmese. It was never adopted by the Aryan women, and has now disappeared altogether amongst the Tamils.

All classes, both of men and women, applied oils to their hair. The women frequently used scents in dressing it, and ornamented it with a variety of flowers and jewellery.

Both sexes perfumed their persons with different kinds of fragrant oils, and adorned their skins with a variety of powders, of a red or yellow colour.⁽³²⁾ The women painted their eyelids with a black pigment.⁽³³⁾ In the houses of the higher orders, incense of benjamin, and other odoriferous gums was generally burnt.⁽³⁴⁾ Although their clothing was scanty, the Tamil people indulged in a profusion of ornaments. Various ornaments worn round the neck, arms and waist formed the most splendid part of their costume. The chieftains and

(28) Chilapp-adikâram, vi, l. 88.

(29) Kurinchip pâdpu, l. 102.

(30) Porunar-ârrup-padaï, l. 39.

(31) Kalith-thokai, s. 32, 55.

(32) Chilapp-adikâram, il, 69.

Ibid, viii. 21

(33) Ibid, iv. 53.

(34) Ibid, xiv. 98, 99.

wealthy landholders wore a necklace of precious gems or pearls, and massive armlets made of gold. Men of royal descent and petty chiefs wore in addition an anklet on their leg, as a mark of special distinction. The attire of the son of a chieftain is described as follows:—"On his feet are anklets made of a row of tiny bells, hanging from a double cord or twist of gold. Round his waist are a belt of golden coins, and a string of bright coral beads, and over these a piece of fine muslin tied round the loins. On his arms are two arm-rings, handsomely engraved, with fret-work raised like the eyes of a crab. From his neck hangs a double cord of gold with a toy sword and a toy axe, and a brooch bearing the figure of a bull, strung on it. On his head is a triple cord of pearls and golden beads, and above it a wreath of flowers, wound with a string of shining blue beads." (35)

Amongst the lower classes, the women wore bracelets made of the conch shell, and a necklace made of white and blue beads, and other cheap trinkets: while those of the middle classes used mostly golden ornaments, silver being very rare in Southern India at this period. The jewels worn by wealthy families were very costly, and those used by public actresses were most magnificent. The following description of the apparel of an actress which occurs in the *chilapp-adikaram*, will convey some idea of this luxury and display of jewels. "She bathed her tresses in a perfumed oil, which was extracted from the juice of 32 kinds of plants, 5 scents and 10 astringents: and having dried them over the smoke of the *Aghil* she parted them into five tufts, and applied a fragrant ointment made of musk. She painted her feet with red cotton, and put pretty rings on her little toes. On her feet she wore an ornament resembling a string of petals over-lapping each other, and extending from the ankle to the big toe: and on the ankle itself she wore four anklets, one of which consisted of a row of little golden bells, and another of golden wire plaited in a beautiful design. On her thighs she tied the thigh clasp. Round her waist she wrapped in graceful folds a piece of five blue coloured muslin, and over it she fastened a girdle of two and thirty strings of lustrous pearls. Above her elbows, she wore superb armlets made of brilliant gems and pearls chased in gold, and on her fore-arms, various brackets, some made of polished shells, and some

coral; some of plain gold and some exquisitely engraved and set with diamonds and emeralds. Rings of various patterns she put on her fingers: one shaped like the mouth of a *makara*, and another which had a big emerald in the centre and a row of diamonds set round it. On her neck she wore many kinds of necklaces (which covered her bosom from the neck to the navel): one of them was like a golden chain; another like a twisted cord; another was a string of beautiful beads, and another a string of pendant golden leaves. A splendid clasp, which covered the back of her neck, held the necklaces in their position. Her ear-rings were set alternately with large diamonds and sapphires. On her head she fastened a net-work of ornaments which exceeded in beauty all her other jewels." (36)

Women mixed freely though modestly in the business and amusements of social life. In towns and cities, women of the poor classes were employed as hawkers, vendors, and shopkeepers or as servants in rich households; and in the villages they worked in the fields and gardens along with men, and shared their hardships. The ladies of the higher classes were more confined to their homes, but they were not secluded from Society. From the queen downwards every woman visited the temples. During the evenings they came out on the terraces of their houses, and saw the scenes in the street: and on festive occasions, they joined the processions, and went out to invite their friends and relations. (37) Owing to the freedom enjoyed by women, it was possible for young people to court each other before marriage. It was not considered improper for a young lady even to elope with her lover, provided they returned to their relations afterwards, and entered into a married life. Love, and not the greed of gold, ruled the court, the camp and the grove, in those days; and the behaviour of the sexes towards each other, among the Tamils, was far more polite and courteous than it is at the present day. It is no matter for wonder, therefore, that much of the poetry of this ancient period treats of love, and that rules for writing amatory poems were already in use. The courtship of young people was such an old and established custom with the Tamils that in the great treatise on moral and social ethics, (38) composed by the poet Tiruvalluvar, during this period, one of the

(36) Chilapp-adikāram, vi. 76 to 108.

(37) Ibid, i. 36, 37.

(38) The Muppāl or Kural.

three parts of the work is devoted to love affairs. The custom has not yet died out entirely in Tamilakam, as it still survives to some extent on the Malabar Coast. The relations of the sexes can best be described in the words of the ancient poets themselves, and I therefore give below a translation of a few extracts from love poems.

The following words are uttered by a girl to her friend, who questions her on her conduct towards her lover :—"Askest thou whether, as my neighbours say, I have given my heart to that noble youth, who watches me while I bathe in the river, visits me at my house, attends on me tenderly, sets right the jewels that I wear, and paints my shoulders with sandal paste? Listen to what I tell thee! Long I have strayed with him on the sea-shore, plucking the stout weeds that grow there, till the tips of my fingers became red, thou sayest: but it was all for a doll which he made with the weeds for me. It is strange that thou art so simple as to believe the tales of my neighbours, who are never happy when they cannot talk scandal. Afraid to meet thy curious eye, I retraced my steps from my house, and he, finding me come back, culled some flowers growing in the marsh and formed them into a garland, and offered it to me. Is it for this trivial mark of attention on his part that thou, without chiding those who sent thee here with false tales, hast come to question me? He did paint on my shoulders beautifully, with sandal paste, the figure of a stalk of sugarcane, telling me that I knew not how to paint it. Is it for this little act of courtesy, that thou gave ear to the idle gossip of my playmates, and worried thyself?" (39)

Here is an example of a wayward and mischievous youth who develops into a violent lover, and of whom a girl speaks to her companion—"Listen to me, my friend! Knowest thou that wicked youth, who knocks down our toy houses, tears the garlands from our hair, snatches away the ball with which we play in the street, and gives us no end of trouble? One day, while I and my mother were busy in our house, he came in and said he was thirsty. "Give him a cup of water," said my mother, and I, forgetting his evil ways, took a cup of water to him. Suddenly he seized me by the arm and tried to embrace me, but I cried out "Lo! mother, behold what this youth has done." Hearing my cry, my mother rushed to the place where we were

standing, and I told her (a lie) that he was choked while drinking water. Then, as my mother stroked his back, that son of a thief darted a look at me, as if he would stab me, and made me laugh.”⁽⁴⁰⁾

There is more of romance in the love scenes in the hill and sylvan tracts. “While I and my mistress were bathing one day in a stream which was swollen with freshes, she slipped into the middle of the stream and unable to stem the current, she was being carried down the river, when a gallant youth who saw the danger, leaped into the flood, decked as he was with garlands, and bore her safely to the bank. Others who stood by, observed that they had seen her swelling bosom rest on his broad shoulders, and hearing these words my mistress vowed that she would be ever faithful to that youth. He was the son of a chief of a powerful clan of the hill-tribes. “Never,” said I, “will a Kurava girl be false to her lover, and never will the arrow shot by a Kurava be false to its mark. If ye, mountaineers be false, the *valli* creeper will not yield its edible root, the honey bees will not form their hives, and your hill farm yield no harvest.” Her mother who heard my words, told them to her fathers, ⁽⁴¹⁾ who had thought of seeing her wed another youth of their choice. Their wrath was kindled and with eyes aflame they chose their arrows and their bows, and a whole day they thought of deeds of vengeance. But when they found that there was no fault in either party they cooled down and consented to their daughter wedding her lover. Then with joined hands we danced the *Kuravai*.....Later on the elders of the clan gathered in our hamlet, led by the *Arivan*, to celebrate the wedding.—⁽⁴²⁾

The above is an instance of a chaste and noble-minded maiden, and what follows is an illustration of a wanton and forward girl of the period.

“Thou damsel whose eyes are as dark as the flower of the Kaya! Many a day has a youth, decked with pretty garlands and armed with a bow, appeared before me, as if he was chasing some game, and gazed at me long and fondly, and vanished from my sight without ever uttering a word. The thought of him has driven sleep from my eyes, and I am pining with grief. He

(40) Ibid, s. 51.

(41) In Tamil, the brothers of the father are called fathers, and not uncles,

(42) Kalith-thokai, s. 39.

speaks not of his love, except with his eyes, and I being a woman am too shy to let him know how deeply I love him. Unable to bear the pangs of a secret love I did an act of which I am ashamed. One day while I was seated on a swing, by the side of our farm, he appeared before me as usual, and I called out to him and said, "Sir, swing me a little while." "I will do so, sweet maid" replied he, and was swinging me, when I pretended to slip from the swing, and fell on his shoulder. He caught me up in his arms at once, and I lay on his shoulder as if in a swoon. He held me fast and when at last I awoke, he bade me go, caressing me fondly and making me happy in the assurance that he loved me fervently. (43)

V. KANAKASABHAI.

(To be Continued.)

(43) Ibid, s. 37.

LIBERAL EDUCATION.

[The following is the substance of an address delivered at the Second Anniversary of the Students' Literary Union at Srirangam on the 21st of November, 1197].

HOSE who have taken an interest in public matters, know the turn that political matters are taking in this country. Our enemies, for we have enemies unfortunately, are at work, and there have been plenty of evidence to show that they are at work, and exceedingly shrewd and clever as they are, they have chosen to attack us in some of our most delicate points. I maintain here, as I have maintained elsewhere, that there is a deliberate plot among a certain class of Anglo-Indians to obstruct and hinder the progress of the Indian people under the benign rule of Great Britain. This class of people are not the whole Anglo-Indian community of this country. I exclude from this class who have started this nefarious conspiracy, the great body of officials, who are Englishmen with some responsibility. They come here burdened with definite duties, and in doing them they have to follow certain principles and respect certain traditional standard of conduct. But unfortunately India is flooded year after year by a class of Englishmen who are in their own country without any settled means of livelihood and who come here when young with the purpose of making a fortune. They come here absolutely without any sense of responsibility. They have no stake whatever in this country. They are a new and demoralizing element in the Anglo-Indian community and their influence is distinctly to lower the standard and tone of public criticism. The plot I refer to is entirely due to this inferior class of Anglo-Indians who have chosen to attack two institutions which are the most cherished blessings of the modern system of Government. I refer to the institutions of a free press and liberal education, which we owe entirely to British rule. That these two institutions had been chosen for attack is patent from the recent deplorable events in Poona and the writings of the Anglo-Indian Press. Some fool or knave has said that education is intended in India to produce good subjects and not philosophers; meaning by subjects, I suppose, people that will

pay the taxes and obey the laws, and for the rest sing hallelujas before the gods of the bureaucracy. Well, we want good subjects, no doubt, but we want philosophers as well—men of high culture, of disinterested devotion to public good, and burning with enthusiasm for the good of their mother-land.

This is a most narrow-minded view to take of higher education. There is apparently a desire in some quarters to bring the education of this country under a rigid, official, censorship. The *London Times* had recently an article on the teaching of history in our schools. There the writer points out that the influence of educated natives on the curriculum of our University has been unwholesome and prejudicial to the cultivation of true loyal feeling. This is a most unfounded charge which we repudiate with indignation. To foster patriotism is undoubtedly a legitimate object of high education. In other countries it has done so and there is no reason why it should not produce that noble feeling in this country. No nation is altogether free from the bias of patriotism, and Englishmen are as susceptible of it as other people. You know the makers of Anglo-Indian history in early years were some of them well-known evil-doers. Warren Hastings and Clive are the most notorious among them. Still the patriotic bias of Anglo-Indian writers of modern days is such that the crimes of these evil-doers are ingeniously whitewashed and they are presented as heroes of unmingled political rectitude. I am indeed reluctant to speak disparagingly of this feeling. But have we not then the same right to appreciate and admire the greatness of our ancestors such as it was? We too can indulge the same excusable weakness of overlooking the faults of our great men and emphasise their noble qualities as examples to posterity. If the Mahrattas of the Deccan celebrate the greatness of their national hero Sivaji, they are doing exactly the same thing that enlightened nations in other parts of the globe are doing. This attack on the teaching of history in our schools, as well as the crusade against the Vernacular Press and liberal education, proceeds from the same class of Anglo-Indians who want to see the Indian people in a state of perpetual political servitude and who do not want them to become a great nation. 2

These people stand aghast at the advance that higher education has made in our country. They say that it has progressed too far and is producing mischievous results. Indeed, their

prejudice against educated Indians is such that an Anglo-Indian journal made the audacious statement that Mahratta emissaries roused the Pathans into rebellion, and another paper improved upon this lie and said that the Pathans had chosen Mr. Tilak as their leader! You know how the London *Times* and other journals were misled into stating that the murderer of Rand and Ayerst, an uneducated and ignorant lunatic, was an educated Brahman and an Advocate of India! Such is the malicious prejudice of these people against men trained in institutions conducted by their own picked countrymen in this country. But what is the fact? Of course, the charge of disloyalty against educated Indians I ignore as the most contemptible falsehood. But is it true that higher education is making too rapid progress? Far from doing any such thing, it has not touched even the whole of the outer fringe of the community. All of us remember that a former Viceroy twitted the Congressmen as constituting an infinitesimal fraction of the community! What the Government has done for Higher Education is absolutely little, very little indeed. We have an idea of the half-heartedness of Government in this most important matter from the fact that its expenditure on education—primary as well as higher education—excluding what Municipal and District Boards spend, hardly amounts to one anna per head of the population, though it takes so much as two rupees per head in the shape of taxation. One anna per head per annum for the national and sacred purpose of education! Not only is this most unwise parsimony shown, but the Government has declared its policy to be, to sever its direct connection with the management of the higher educational institutions, and spend for that object an annually diminishing amount!

Abolishing all our Colleges and Universities what will these people do? They are ashamed to go the full logical length of the policy they advocate; although at heart they would be delighted indeed if they could keep the Indian population in the same state of utter ignorance and illiteracy in which they were at the time when the East India Company first established their political supremacy. They advocate an educational policy which would lead to Government diverting its funds and energy from higher liberal education towards technical and primary education. I do not in the least wish to speak disparagingly of the importance of these branches of public instruction. They deserve to be

stimulated and fostered in every possible way, and I am glad indeed to acknowledge what Government is doing already for the lower as well as the higher forms of technical education. In the Medical, Civil Engineering, Agricultural and Law Colleges, as well as in the smaller institutions like the Victoria Technical Institute of Trichinopoly, it shows an adequate recognition of the importance of technical education.

But the cry for a system of technical education such as prevails in European countries is, I have no hesitation in saying, entirely premature. The conditions that will make such a system successful are yet wanting. There is no demand for the products of trained and artistic labour. The vast majority of the population live in villages and pursue the simple and ancient industry of agriculture. Their wants are few and easily supplied. They live in exceedingly poor houses which do not boast of much artistic furniture or other adornment. As regards agriculture itself, our people already know its principles much better than any Professor from the West can possibly know. Their habits are conservative, and they do not easily acquire new wants. What education is necessary for indigenous industries such as they are, is already given in a very effective manner under the arrangements of the caste. The Indian artizan carefully trains his son while yet a child in the occupation he himself pursues; and while the son undergoes this apprenticeship, he not only costs nothing but is actually a source of a small yet exceedingly welcome addition to the father's earnings.

It is not that, by these remarks, I wish to discourage the new movement in favour of technical education; but I only expose the fallacy of the contention that in the advancement of the nation, technical education should take precedence of a liberal general education, that high mental culture should be sacrificed in favour of producing skilled mechanics and artizans. Primary education too has its own claim, a legitimate claim on the resources of the State and the people. But neither this nor the other branch of public instruction can be pushed in this country at present beyond certain limits. The people are too poor to benefit by a compulsory system, and compulsory education meaning free education, where are the resources by which a free education can be given to the millions of this country? Let me not be misunderstood. I shall rejoice most sincerely if by some means it could be made possible to extend primary education so as

to reach the whole or the greater portion of the population, or to establish a system of industrial education which would fill the country with trained professional men capable of successfully competing with their European rivals. But I want to warn you against the sinister design which advocates impracticable methods in preference to existing ones of which the experience has been altogether encouraging.

To those people that affect to attach so much importance to these two branches of education, I shall only put this question : whether the present position of England and other Western countries is the result of either technical or primary education ? As a fact, Technical education and the Primary education of the masses are only modern features of European polity. If we reflect upon this matter, we would see that long before either of them was thought of, the edifice of England's greatness, material, political and literary, had grown almost to the top. It would be ridiculous to say that it is her trained mechanics and artizans that are the architects of her fame and prosperity, and not those great prodigies of statesmanship, generalship, literature, science and art, who fill the pages of her history. The immortal heroes of English History are Elizabeth, Cromwell, Pitt, and Gladstone in the field of Politics, Marlborough, Nelson and Wellington in War, Shakespeare, Milton, Scott and Carlyle in Literature, Darwin and Ruskin in Science and Art ; and certainly not those that are the products of the modern system of Technical or Primary education. They never learnt in Technical schools what made them great. What makes a man great in his undertakings and successful in his pursuits is that great living moral force which lifts up his nature in him and enables him to rise equal to the demands of his environment. It is men of such moral force and mental calibre that really regenerate a fallen country ; it is that genuine sustaining power and force which is the sure product of liberal culture in Colleges and Universities that serves the purpose of leaders of nations. Or go back to our own country during the period of its greatness, and we shall find history corroborating my view. There were authors and law-givers who had received the best and the highest mental culture under the conditions of those times, but they never bothered about such narrow views of education as we are now called on to accept. I say, then, that if India should be lifted up again to

take her place in the scale of progressive nations, if she should be again a glorious land, it is men of determined will, force of intellect and moral character that alone can bring about that glorious consummation. We need a liberal and high education much more than education of a special or elementary kind.

There is one other point I would refer to, and that is, that it is never the mass of the people that bring about great reforms. It is ever a few leading men that feel keenly the wants of the country and, in obedience to the strong moral impulse that swells in them, rise above the level of ordinary human energy and sweep away time-honoured abuses. Such men lead and the masses follow. Even in the most democratic countries where the equality of all men is the recognized basis of social theories, the great bulk of the people follow only a few leading men whose moral and intellectual qualities give them a towering position. The nation's destiny is determined and directed by its leading men. So also in this land we want such men, men imbued with high ideals, armed with courage and patriotism, and above all, devoted to work and ready to die for public good. We want such men if in this present crisis of her history India should rise from her lethargy and be led along the path of progress. I would impress on all our well-wishers the fact that if the leading men of India at this momentous epoch of her history were not men of this description, ruin will seize her.

Other countries have gone through crises of their own, and in such critical times, who helped the struggling and prostrate nations to tide over their difficulties? Verily, it is men whose character has been moulded by high and liberal culture. Prussia went through such a crisis when she lay humbled and helpless at the feet of Napoleon after the memorable battle of Jena. France went through a similar crisis at the end of her disastrous war with Germany twenty-six years ago. At that time the great statesmen and thinkers who were responsible for the progress and the happiness of the people did not think of technical education and start technical schools, but they discerned the means of redemption in a general and scientific culture of the country's youth. It is true that there was raised a great cry in France that the disasters which had overtaken the country were due largely to the backward condition of primary education and to the extreme subjection to the State. There was a party which proposed

to remedy these evils by a great extension of popular at the cost of superior education. Against these proposals a powerful protest was raised by a very eminent man, M. Ernest Renan, whose philosophical and political opinions have been considered by some to be wilfully eccentric, but who speaks with paramount authority and supreme good sense on all questions which concern the higher national culture and the organization of superior instruction. He maintained that no more cruel wrong could be inflicted on a backward nation (and he was too sincerely and profoundly patriotic to deny that France had in some directions fallen behind Germany) than by curtailing the resources available for the promotion of culture among the classes whose function it is to organize control and lead the nation. It was not, he maintained, the Primary schoolmaster who had conquered at *Sedan* but the science and discipline of Germany, and that France without a great development of science and discipline among her superior classes would never resume her leading position in Europe. A million, he said, economized from the funds devoted to higher education and the promotion of science, would go only a little way in extending popular education, but might check for a long time the national development in its most vital part.

We must not forget that the crisis in France or Prussia is nothing when compared to the crisis we are passing through. We have to transform a hoary civilization more than six thousand years old, we have long-standing abuses to sweep away, and other special formidable difficulties due to our political and social conditions to overcome. It is not any feeble primary education that can effect this. We have a series of destructive and constructive work to do. At this juncture we want men possessed of gigantic courage, of refined wisdom and high statesmanship, not skilled cobblers and carpenters. Yes, we want *moral giants*, such as Raja Ram Roy, to lead the army of reformers against long-standing social evils, and our education must be such as will produce men from among whom not only the rank and file of the reforming band can be obtained, but the generals also. The work of destruction involves as its necessary accompaniment a delicate and difficult task of construction, which requires not moral giants so much as men of sagacious and penetrating patriotism, men like Sir Madava Row, Sir Seshadri Aiyar, Messrs. Telang and Ranade. And yet no system of technical education

will produce them ; and to instruct and lead this enormous community we want hundreds of them.

The system of higher education that we have had for the last fifty years, with all its defects, has produced very beneficial results. It has wrought material changes in the thoughts and ideals of the people ; it has succeeded to some extent in breathing life into the dry bones ; it has roused the nation to self-consciousness. India is shaking her sleep off, and finds herself now amidst conditions which call for serious changes in the activities of her sons. India can no longer keep her isolated position ; its destiny is involved in that of England ; and it must move on whether she will or not. Even China has not escaped being dragged out of her ice-bound isolation ; but has come under the current of the world's progress. India can no longer remain content with a dreamy pessimistic view of life ; she can no longer derive her impulse to advancement from her past ; she can no longer spend herself in brooding over the glories of her departed worthies ; she must girdle up her loins and plunge into that dreadful struggle for existence which goes on all over the world.

I have said that the policy of the Government is to sever its direct connection with higher education, and while reducing gradually its expenditure on it, to transfer the management of the High Schools and Colleges to private bodies. In one respect, this latter policy is to be welcomed, for the more the education of the country is in our hands, the more is it likely to represent the true aspirations of the people. There must be a real relation between the education of a nation and its condition, needs and ideals. The private bodies now in charge of our higher educational institutions happen at present largely to be Christian Missionary agencies ; and neither they nor the Government can possess a true insight into the wants of the people and into the latent springs of their nascent ambition. I am hopeful that in course of time the educational institutions of the country will be altogether under the direction of the people themselves. The task is properly ours, and no other task can be more serious or of greater importance than the education of our youth, who will succeed us as leaders and as responsible members of society, whose thought, feeling and action will be the basis for the labours of the more remote generations. It is a matter for congratulation that everywhere in the country private schools are being established, and it is here that the seeds of patriotism should be planted

and the higher national sentiment should be awakened and fostered. The responsibility that rests on the educated men of this country is serious, very serious indeed.

Not only should our Colleges and Universities not be abolished, but they should be improved in a manner which will result in a more extended diffusion of culture, of literary and scientific culture, and will make them real centres of learning such as have existed for generations in European countries and have formed the true foundation of their greatness and of their prosperity. We are an exceedingly poor nation, and we want wealth not only for ourselves but for our rulers who take a heavy tribute from us every year. Besides, the paths of distinction which are open to men of talent and ambition in other countries are closed to us in consequence of our political condition. We no doubt want wealth, and we no doubt want these paths of distinction to be opened to us. But if you think deeply on the matter, there is one other want which should be supplied before others that I have referred to can be satisfied. I mean the want of that moral power, that product of liberal culture, which, if we have it, would give us all the wealth and all the distinction that we may desire. India wants to be led by her sons richly endowed with this moral power, with dauntless courage, with penetrating sagacity and with cautious patriotism, endowed in fact with qualities which a high culture alone can give.

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW, A TALE OF HINDU LIFE.

THE scene of my story is a large village six miles south of one of the most flourishing towns in South India. It had considerable importance in the early days of the English in the Pandhya country ; but about a quarter of a century ago the neighbouring town of N— absorbed its Taluk and Munsiff's Cutcherries, and began that career of self-aggrandisement at the expense of its weaker neighbours which is the theme of eloquent regret among the gossip-patriots of many a village round about. I have often heard my mother declare that the village of M— had at one time twice as many houses as it now has ; and if I may judge from the gaps and ruins in the *Agraharams*, she is not guilty of even the excusable degree of womanly exaggeration. The District Munsiff who, though he works in the town of N— owes his official designation to M—, asserts with all the weight of his authority that the most obstinate and intricate litigation and the evidence least polluted with truth that he has to deal with, come from M—. However ungrateful this remark certainly is from an officer that owes a handsome monthly salary to those to-him-profitable characteristics of M—, it ought not to prevent me from attesting its truth in the main. Somehow all the vices of half-education have found a congenial soil there, and thrive marvellously : litigation-fosterers, anonymous-petition-writers, scandal-publishers, and all those nameless species of humanity whom it is the especial glory of English law and English administration of justice to have called into existence, ply a busy trade ; and at a pinch you have only to promise hotel meals for a day and a couple or so of Rupees for jutka fare and "other expenses" to march into the courts at N— a dozen men of "respectability" who will call the Almighty God to witness that they speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, while they are reproducing with greater or less accuracy what you or your agent for you may have taken the precaution to teach them. If the fathers and heads of families are of this description, you can well imagine how the younger generation will grow up under their care. As soon as ever a school was started at N—, and

that was upwards of thirty years ago, the youth of M— took to English education; and yet up to date only four have taken the B. A. Degree, and four others have passed the F. A. Examination. All the rest, except such as are at present at school, have gone back to their respective homes, having succeeded in acquiring a veneer of urban polish, in becoming unfit for the peaceful and contented occupation of landlordism, and in picking up a knowledge of English which is too little to enable them to read with profit the simplest newspapers or write the commonest business-letters, but enough to fill them with contempt for Sanskrit and the vernaculars, and for the lessons of morality and religion contained in them. Thus left without any ideal to emulate or any serious aim to live for, their time is mostly spent in gossiping, gambling, and intriguing. They have no healthy sports, no useful objects of common interest; and their lives are as full of sin and wickedness as law and social custom will allow on the one hand, and on the other that kind of superstitious fear of God which, though occasionally an effectual moral restraint, has yet consisted in all ages and countries with the sordidest of hearts and the wretchedest of lives. Excepting a few that are prudent and worldly-wise, and a few others that are contemptible memskulls, there is not one whom I would advise a friend to trust an anna with, not one with whom I would gladly converse for a couple of minutes.

Of such young men my hero is one. At the time the events to be recorded herein happened, he was a fine-looking youth of seventeen. He had already grown to be five foot four, and measured the Police minimum of thirty-three inches round the chest. A large round face without too much of cheeks, a prominent nose, long eyes shaded by well-arched brows, and a broad forehead combined with slender and wiry limbs and a brown complexion to render him what would ordinarily be called a "beauty." Subrahmanyam—so we shall call him—had long heard his charms praised, and had never been niggardly of his father's money in improving the natural acceptableness of his person by silk handkerchiefs and fine scents, or of the time he ought to have spent at his lessons in showing himself off of mornings in the bathing-ghâts, and of evenings in the bazaar and in the temples. His teacher had long ago given him up as a hopeless uncared-for 'scamp,' and was glad to send him out of school on the slightest pretext, an event of which he on his part was by no means

less glad. He was a much-respected customer at all the cake and snuff shops, being scrupulously careful on the slightest indication of disrespectful treatment or reluctant compliance with his orders on the part of the dealers to re-establish his credit by some means or other,—laying his father's or his mother's box under contribution to his sovereign wants, or suspending the payment of school-fees, or pawning his books, handkerchiefs, &c. His father would frequently go to N— on business, and though by no means unaware of the progress his boy was making or the way his money was going, never however found time to see his boy's master and take his advice in the matter, or to place his boy under the care of some "private tutor." Not that he did not care at all for his son's welfare: on the contrary he often expressed great concern for his future, and whenever it was necessary to under-rate his prosperity in life before a troublesome mendicant or an over-jealous neighbour, did not fail to assign to his misfortune in the matter of his son a prominent place among the curses that were embittering his life; nay, he occasionally went the length of giving manual expression to his disapproval of Subramanyan's ways in a manner that caused considerable discomfort to his cheeks, head, bended back, or whatever part of his body lay the most readily accessible to his father's excited arms. But this state of feeling is too expensive, physiologically speaking, to last long even in the most tyrannical of fathers; and in Subramanyan's case a trip to M— on Saturday set matters all right for him. A few favorable occasions of pleasing his father adroitly seized and improved, and a profuse display of penitent tears before his mother, interspersed with promises of the future, reinstated him in parental favour. He would tell his eagerly-listening mother how difficult his studies were even to the sharpest lads among his fellows, and how he had unfortunately no brains, and would quote in support of his stupidity the illustrious examples of his father and uncles,—a species of argument that never failed to carry conviction to the mind of the fond estimable lady,—and would finally swear to do his very best, leaving the result to fate: the result of all which would surely be that the morning of Monday next found him in N— fully equipped with 'sinews of dandism' for another month.

He had just completed his thirteenth year, and entered the Lower Fourth Class, when he had to tie the *tali* round the neck of a girl of ten. She was the daughter of a pleader of N—in easy

circumstances. She had been taught to read and write the vernacular in the Girls' school of the place, and was reputed to have a good voice and sing well. Her parents had been very anxious to give her, as the Tamil expression is, into a well-to-do family, and only the other thing they cared anything for was that the bridegroom should be good-looking. Subrahmanyam of course fulfilled these two conditions admirably. What if he was now a wayward boy, and did not mind his lessons? In time, 'if their girl was lucky,' the boy would become better, and make a capital husband. At the worst, he would have enough to live upon, and their daughter would not want for anything. And they agreed between themselves to keep the boy with them and look after his education. Subrahmanyam's parents hailed the proposal of the marriage with joy,—but for different reasons. The father counted upon some seven or eight hundred rupees of *Varadakshina* or bridegroom's fee, and another five hundred rupees as other presents; valued at a high figure, being litigiously-disposed, the advantage of having for *Sambandhi* a clever vakil of N—; and had some vague hopes besides of his son being advanced in life by the alliance of such an influential person. The mother, like the rest of her sex, ran her eye prospectively over the numberless brass and silver vessels crowded together in the marriage pandal as presents to her son, received the congratulations of her lady-friends and relations with her smile of bustling condescension, effectually crushed her rivals in the glory of life, particularly her *orpadis*, "whose bowels," she chuckled at the idea, "would be burnt up with envy," and altogether gloated over the prospect of possessing such a rich man's daughter to lord it over.

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In two years more, when Subrahmanyam was fifteen, and his betrothed hardly twelve, they were to become man and wife. The bride's parents would gladly put off the nuptials, but Subrahmanyam's life seemed to demand it. He had of late ceased to enjoy the company of little fellows of his age, and avoided all healthy and manly sports. He had gradually yielded to the influence of designing and evil-minded companions, had begun to pay far too much attention to the adornments of his person, and affected the airs and sentiments of a gallant. He had given up going to school, had managed to incur a large debt for one in his position, and seemed to regard himself, and require others

to regard him, as a man that had broken loose from his leading-strings and become his own master. His father had already bidden fare-well to all hopes of his son's reclamation. "I am glad", he said, "the fellow kept going to school till he was married; else, unreliable scamp that he is, who would *give* him his daughter?"

And so at her tender age, precocious in mind as in body, having learnt a few practical hints as to how to be at once a dutiful wife and obedient daughter-in-law, her mind swayed alternately by vague misgivings and vaguer hopes, with tears in her eyes and *சூட்டு* in her hair, Meenakshi went to live with her husband under her mother-in-law's roof. Little did the innocent girl dream what reception had been got up for her. While yet the nuptials were in contemplation, Subrahmanyam's mother had found an opportunity to say to him with deep thought and anxiety in her countenance: "Now your wife will come; she will become the mistress of the house and I shall sink into a drudge. You will no more care for me, or remember with what pains I bore you and brought you up, how I watched and sickened and starved myself so that you might grow up a healthy lad, how when everybody else went to the "temple or the tank," to see processions or enjoy marriage-festivities, I kept home cheerfully to nurse you and pull you through your numberless ailments, how I pleaded and wept before your father for the purchase of cakes, toys, and dress for you,—all this you will forget and go over body and soul to the coming stranger, that 'thing of yesterday', who is to enjoy the love and affection for which I have so long laboured with the blood of my life. And she is a rich man's daughter to boot with a handsome dowry and some accomplishments,— "O what a fool I was! why did I consent to that marriage?" And at this climax she had wept and sobbed for a few seconds, but had soon wiped away her tears with the hem of her garment and composed herself with considerable effort, as if she had foolishly given expression to feelings which it had been more becoming to have kept to herself. Poor Subrahmanyam, overcome by this outburst of maternal tenderness, had reassured his mother, promising not to yield to the persuasions of any *dog* whatsoever, and vowing not to do anything that might offend his mother, and saying a lot of very foolish things about his being as rich as his father-in-law and not a bit less respectable, &c., &c. And he had taken counsel about

this matter of one of his trusted friends who had told him how rich and delicately-brought-up wives used to shirk work, how they would grudge to serve their father-in-law and mother-in-law, how they would feign headache and stretch their length in some dark room if there were any guests at home, how they would not brook rebuke or scolding from their mother-in-law, but bandy words with her on every possible occasion, how they would try to break up the family by poisoning the mind of the husband against his parents, brothers, and sisters, and so on, and so on.

Two months at her husband's sufficed to break the heart of Meenakshi. Her mother's rules for pleasing all had failed her utterly. She had hard work, left her bed early at 5-30 or 6 in the morning to sprinkle dung-water in front of the house, which is the peculiar function of the daughter-in-law, and did not go back to it until all had supped and begun to snore or given some other indication of having gone to rest. And between these hours, she did whatsoever her hand found to do, and whatsoever else she was bidden to do, as promptly, neatly, and cheerfully as she could; and yet she gained no place in the affections of anybody there. There was no praise, no thanks for any service of hers; while, if anything was left undone or done the least bit unsatisfactorily, the party affected, be that the veriest child, would feel insulted and frame a formal charge against her. Her feelings were absolutely ignored; remarks were freely and not very charitably or delicately made in her hearing about her gait, movements, and looks, and these remarks she was expected to profit by, but had no right to resent or answer. Her wants and tastes were seldom consulted; and when they were, it was in a curt distant, almost contemptuous manner. Even favours and kindnesses were thrown at her. No one inquired whether she felt happy and comfortable, and how she liked her new life and environment. She longed to hear one kind word, to receive one mark of sympathy. She felt utterly alone.

In a Hindu family the husband is the one person that can render life tolerable to a girl-wife. He alone can in any sense be called a companion. The female members of the family regard her from the first as an alien who, by virtue of a paltry saffron-tinted string round the neck that does not take a couple of seconds to tie, has snatched away the rights and privileges of mistress of the family which the most intimate blood-relation-

ship, years of patient toil and suffering, the tenderest of services, and the most unfeigned attachment fail to give them; and they resolve each in her own mind to accord to the usurper, while yet she has not begun to exercise the rights of her position, that same cold and unsympathetic treatment which they expect to receive at her hands in *her* days. As for the male members, to their credit it must be said, they don't generally adopt towards the daughter-in-law the same attitude of suspicion and hostility; but they can in no way mitigate the hardships of her situation, being strictly forbidden to speak to her or hold any kind of communication with her, direct or indirect. Few Hindu husbands, even among the educated, fully realise their duties, and manfully discharge them, in respect of the helpless little innocents whom they call their wives. What then was to be expected of Subrahmanyan? He had neither the reflection which is the result of education, nor the experience which is the result of age. He had no notion of responsibility. With the selfishness of the wayward boys, he did not spend one serious thought upon the consequences to others of his actions, as long as he had his meals at the proper times and the means to pursue his own pleasures undisturbed. There was no depending on him. Meenakshi early discovered this.

One night the whole family were at supper excepting Meenakshi and her mother-in-law who were both serving the meals. It turned out that the sauce, which Meenakshi had prepared, contained too much salt. One of the party remarked with the slightest touch of irony "How strange! Yesterday the sauce was over-salted, and to-day it is not any better." "I wonder if *Manni* would do things so carelessly in her father's house," put in the brother-in-law. "There some great folk or other will always dine, and everything will have to be done with care: *here*, anything must suffice," rejoined the sister-in-law in as sly a tone as she could command. At this the father-in-law gently remonstrated: "Nay, nay; how naughty you are! the poor girl has never cooked before, there being a cook or two always at her father's." The mother-in-law could not let this opportunity pass. "Where are we to go for cooks?" she asked with the simplest humility in the world, "we are in a poor way of life, and Subrahmanyan, dunce that he is, is never going to become a big *vakil*." The last part she bit out of her mouth in a manner that stung Subrahmanyan. He did not relish such public and

pointed exposure, and that in the presence of his wife. So he broke out: "Shall I eat here or not? Why am I dragged into this quarrel?" Quick and crushing came the reply from his mother: "Why! because if your wife had any respect for you or any fear of you, she would have taken a lesson from yesterday's mistake, and put in less salt to-day, and avoided all this bother." Meenakshi could not suppress her tears or her sobs any longer. She refused to eat when her time came. "I have no appetite," she cried, and as she spoke, sobs broke forth afresh, and tears flowed copiously down her cheeks.

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That night noises were heard in Subramanyan's bed-room as of somebody striking somebody else blow upon blow, and a female voice was heard to appeal in agonised, heart-piercing accents: "Leave me, pray! leave me! I will do better. If I don't, you may kill me then; but now leave me! O leave me!"

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Two years have now passed. Meenakshi expected in a couple of months to be a mother. Day and night, whenever for one moment she had leisure to think of herself, she prayed fervently to God that the thing in her might be a son. She rested all her hopes of happiness upon that one chance. As she herself put it, "If I should be brought to bed of a son, will not my day dawn at least then? God grant that it be so!" Of late, her husband's course of life had become so notoriously bad that it became the subject of female gossip everywhere in the village, in the river, the tank, and the temple. This afforded her mother-in-law another means of tormenting her. Whenever news was brought to the house-hold of Subrahmanyan's losing his ring in gambling, or his nearly getting into gaol for trespassing into a house of ill-fame, or his being lynched by a party of roughs in some foolish adventure, the mother-in-law would not forget to moralise in something like the following strain: "Why? what could the poor boy do? if he finds any comfort in his lawful bed, why will he think of stirring out? But if he constantly finds his wife in tears and complaining and carrying all sorts of tales to him, he *must* get sick of her and seek other company. I can't blame him, he was not so bad before his nuptials or for some time after that." And the means of his reckless career Subrahmanyan drew from the person of the girl whose heart he was breaking. As the loss of jewel after jewel was discovered,

Meenakshi would be subjected to a battery of the most angry and impatient queries, and her only reply would be, "How could I say 'no'? Have I the strength to resist?" "Resist!" the mother-in-law would cry, "why should you resist? why could you not shout or scream for help? If you only cared, you might have saved the jewel in a hundred ways. But perhaps you are not unwilling that we should be ruined. Who knows what you may not be plotting?"

It was the month of May. Of evenings when it has become cool after the scorching heat of the day, groups of females, old and young, may be seen going to or returning from the river with *kudams* of fresh water from its springs. It was in one of her water-bearing excursions that I saw Meenakshi for the first and last time,—just one week before the horrid tragedy to be described presently. She did not strike me as being very handsome. She was a plain-looking, short, frail creature whom you would at once put down as uninteresting but for the burden she carried in her womb and a look of resignation and patient suffering, both of which accorded very ill indeed with her tender, immature frame. I had heard of her miseries before, and as I reflected how she had been sacrificed all too early in her life to false notions of "respectable alliances," I must own my heart went out to her; and it was with an effort that I could resist an inclination that I felt strongly stirring me to step up to her and say how much I pitied her. She was in the company of her aunt-in-law (father-in-law's sister), who, I understood subsequently, was the one woman in M— who sympathised with her, and to whom she opened her heart. This aunt-in-law lived next door to herself, and every day took her to the river both morning and evening; and I daresay Meenakshi was only too glad to escape in the company of such a friend from the oppression of her home. On one occasion, while returning from the river, she noticed, among a group of young men that were enjoying the cool breeze of the evening under the *aswattha* tree, a friend and companion of her brother's who, she thought, must have come to M— on some business, and would return immediately to N—. And it came into her head that she might send some news of herself to her mother. She at once beckoned to him, and after a few mutual inquiries, requested him to tell her mother that she was not well either in body or in mind, and would like very much to see her. When she turned to join her aunt-in-law, that lady

had gone about fifty yards in advance; and Meenakshi was not very anxious to overtake her, being fully occupied with her own thoughts of how mother would come and take her away, how she might forget her troubles amid the happy scenes of her childhood, how she need not turn her face towards M— for another six or seven months to come, and how at the end of that period she would return thither with a dear little son in her waist to begin a new life of hope, happiness, and honour. All that night she permitted her mind to revel freely in her own fancy-made world of cloudless sunshine. Her dreams were most pleasant and happy, and bore no trace of the miserable past and no shadow of what lay in wait for her on the morrow.

The next morning, at the usual hour of nine, Meenakshi's aunt-in-law came to take her to the river, and suddenly remembering the incident of the previous evening, asked her who the youth was to whom she had lingered to speak. At this the mother-in-law, who was combing her daughter's hair, suddenly raised her head, and inquired alarmedly: "Youth? Was she speaking to a youth? Was it her brother?" "Not her brother, I know him, it was some other person." "It was a friend of my brother's who used to come frequently to our house, and knows all in our family", explained Meenakshi not without some alarm. "A friend of your brother's!" exclaimed the mother-in-law in a tone of bitter sneer, "I never heard of a girl speaking to her brother's friend in her *pukkām*, it was not considered becoming conduct in my days, my mother-in-law would have cut out my tongue for such an act; but how far is it between that time and this? And pray, what were you saying to that young man?" "I only sent word to my mother to come and see me," faltered poor Meenakshi. "And added a lot of tales about your troubles here, and the cruelty of your mother-in-law and father-in-law? Yes: and I suppose she must come here and kick up a row." The aunt-in-law had by this time slipped out of the house, internally cursing herself for her ill-timed curiosity, and wishing that the matter might rest there. But the mother-in-law willed otherwise; and as Subrahmanyam was that day going out after dinner (which of late he did not eat till after his father had eaten his, and left the coast clear for his son), she reported to him his wife's misbehaviour, and took care to add that if such things were not promptly put down, much scandal would be created, and they would become the objects of public scorn and

ridicule. Subrahmanyam heard this, remained silent for a few seconds with the air of a judge considering his sentence, and finally gave expression to his pleasure that the offender should stand in the sun for one hour. The novelty of the punishment, and the calm pronouncement thereof by Subrahmanyam, led his mother to suspect that he was treating the matter in the light of a joke; and Meenakshi herself did not quite know whether she was to obey. Then Subrahmanyam, anxious to make amends for his apparent indifference, went up to where his wife stood, caught hold of her hair, and dragged her to the centre of that part of the courtyard which the sun was heating up. It was between twelve and one o'clock in the day; and the eye shrank from the glare. Meenakshi stood firm and still for two minutes where her husband had planted her, but then her fortitude failed her, and she began to lift up and put down her legs alternately every second. Often she would take up one of her feet in the hand, and pass her palm over it; but before she could do so fully, her other foot would have been insufferably burned, and she would set down the former, and lift the latter. Before ten minutes were over, Meenakshi had run into the shade; but her husband, who seemed now to quite enjoy his pastime, was there before her, and with a fierce menace drove her back to her station. This time, however, she ran sooner than before into the shade, pleading and screaming in the most piteous manner, and could not be driven back into the sun without the application of some violence on the part of her lord. This kind of thing happened at least a dozen times; and Subrahmanyam, who probably regarded the struggles of his wife as a trial of strength between them, thought it necessary to display the maximum violence of which he was capable. After the expiry of about three-fourths of an hour, his mother who had for some time past been calling out to him to desist, aided by her sister-in-law whom her cries had called out of the next house, interposed between the couple and effected the rescue of Meenakshi who now lay an unresisting, half-unconscious mass, partly in the shade, partly in the sun.

In the agony and distress that followed, Meenakshi was tended by her aunt-in-law. When she was a little composed, the kind-hearted aunt left her; and being now alone, she could not help recalling the terrible trial she had just passed through. The thought of her helpless and forlorn condition revived in her the memory of her dear mother, and her heart yearned towards

her home in N—, and she wept the bitterest tears of all the bitter tears she had wept since the ill-fated nuptial-day. When she had wept for some time, she felt greatly relieved, and her mind seemed equal to the task of considering about the future. Gradually hope regained her dominion in her breast, and set her thinking of *how* to get home to her parents. And the idea struck her that the very atrocity of the deed her husband had done to her that day might furnish the means of her delivery. For were not mother and son already repenting of their cruelty, and anxious to conciliate her by what redress might be in their power? She would refuse to eat that day, and demand to be sent to her parents. "They must clutch at such easy means of soothing me, for is it really too much to ask after all I have borne?" But in this she reckoned without her host.

The mother-in-law feared that if Meenakshi was sent home in that condition, the scandal would be so great that the public would abhor and detest her, and tried to persuade her daughter-in-law that she must try and get somewhat better before she could think of going to N—, and promised to escort her herself to her parents within a week. But Meenakshi with the blindness of new-born courage, persisted. "My next meal," she said, "must be from my mother's hand." This was too much even for a penitent mother-in-law to swallow, and she left Meenakshi in a mighty rage and vexation. "What !" she said to herself as she brooded over her discomfiture, "shall a young brat like that dare to impose conditions upon me, merely because a silly fellow has used her somewhat ill? I must prevent this ; she shall *not* eat her next meal from her mother's hand."

When the son returned at about 5 o'clock in the evening, the mother appeared in a paroxysm of grief and rage, and called down all the curses of Hell upon his head, and wished him all sorts of horrible deaths,—cobra-bite, cholera, lightning-stroke, &c., &c., before she would tell him what had caused her such mortal offence. He had no sooner heard of his wife's demand than he started with the energy of a friend, and rushed at her. His mother followed close upon him to prevent violence. Meenakshi drew herself together in great hurry, and stood up, a little out of his way. "Did you demand to be sent home this very night?" he thundered. "Yes," she replied firmly, emboldened by despair. "Yes, do you say?" he roared out, caught her by the hair, and threw her heavily down on her back. Then

with a savage look, he raised his leg as high as he could over her prostrate form, and asked in tones so loud that the vessels of the kitchen resounded, "Do you want to go home still?" "Yes," she screamed out, and immediately closed her eyes, as she saw the up-raised leg come down upon her fully-exposed womb. A frantic scream or two, a few convulsions, and restless rollings to this side and to that,—and she fell into a state of unconsciousness from which she awoke only half-an-hour before the moment of final release from her ill-starred existence.

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The news of the death spread like wildfire through the village: People poured in by the dozen, information was despatched to the parents of the victim, and the police were expected every minute. The mother-in-law speedily gathered her wits, and recollected that Meenakshi had always been subject to a certain pain in the stomach which had become more frequent and aggravated in form during her pregnancy. But the suspicions of the public, whom the aunt-in-law took freely into her confidence, were not lulled. The unhappy parents had all their doubts completely removed by the dying girl who at about 4-30 the next morning, beckoned to them, and said in their ears: "I go; for my sake do not give information to the Sircar, he cannot have intended it: let him live and, marry again, and—." She could not finish her sentence. At 5 A. M. she ceased to breathe.

KOPI.

HINDUISM IN ITS THREE ASPECTS.

IT is generally asserted by those ignorant of the Hindu religion that it is but a congeries of many faiths and many nationalities and that hence it deserves not the name of religion. Finding that the Hindu religion propagates all manner of worships from the lowest form of fetish worship up to the highest form of Nirguna Brahman or the absolute and unconditioned God, they are at a loss to find one stereotyped form of worship as in all other religions. Hence it is that they are unable to rise beyond the conception of the one form of worship as ordained in their own religions and find themselves in a vast wilderness when they enter the Hindu religion. But if men should rightly understand what real function religion has to perform, then all these misapprehensions will cease. The word religion comes from two words, *re*—back and *ligere*—to bind. Hence according to its derivative concept, religion is that which binds. The true function of religion is therefore to knit men together by making them realise the essential unity of their nature. As at present constituted, men identifying themselves with their bodies think themselves to be different from others; and it is the duty of religion to cement them together by a common feeling of union. The prefix *re* presupposes the existence of such a bond of union ere this body was assumed by men, and religion is to re-establish it.

But should this bond exist as between some portion of humanity only, then that religion cannot be termed universal and does not fully realise its object. A bond of union is created in a restricted sense only and all men have not been bound by the one cord. There is a link brought about between a certain number of individuals who make inroads, as some religionists now do, into the beliefs of another set of individuals in the honest conviction that their beliefs are the best. Thus friction and wars ensue in the name of religion where there ought to be peace and amity between one man and another, to whatever nationality or clime they may belong.

Avoiding this evil, Hinduism is able to rally round its banner all men of varying grades of intellect and beliefs—no matter

what body they possess or what race they belong to. It is of such a universal character as to embrace, within its scope, the whole of humanity. No form of worship of God which is to be found in other religions or can be thought of by men is excluded from it; and yet the different kinds of worship are reconciled with one another on purely logical grounds. If the whole of humanity is to be bound together by one common link, then we shall have to concern ourselves with men of varying grades of intellect. One would prefer worship of nature; another would prefer that of idols; a third would worship mentally, while the fourth would go beyond all these. Suppose a Protestant Christian goes to a regular negro in Africa, he cannot make him think mentally of the worship of Jesus or God. This is the reason why all kinds of worship are seen in the Hindu religion. Inasmuch as God cannot be worshipped in his real state by humanity as at present constituted, it makes them worship God in his manifested aspects and gives them different ideals or forms according to their varying powers. There is no use gained in thrusting Binomial Theorem into the minds of First Form boys. So each man or set of men has to be given that which he or they can understand. But if religion is to consist of merely a set of doctrines and rules which are of a circumscribed nature, not only do its adherents become limited, but the duration of its life is also shortened. But the Hindu religion on account of its universality of character is coeval with humanity. This is the reason why, in spite of our modern civilisation, we find the hoary Hinduism of the past, attracting, at the present day, the attention of savants the world over.

DEFINITION OF HINDUISM.

There is no word corresponding to the ordinary idea conveyed by the word religion. We generally mean religion to be a system wherein a number of men adopt certain cults or ceremonies and beliefs. To express this idea, there is no word traceable in the Sanskrit language. The word Dharma is a general word and means, in some places, the laws of the world and in other places, virtues. Perhaps the old Sanskrit writers were loath to degrade Hinduism to the level of religions as at present understood. They did not wish to make the Hindu religion a system of particular cults and beliefs only, as that would take away the universality of its character. Or rather the old Sanskritists were not aware of or did not acknowledge that to be

a religion which was restricted in its scope. Therefore the Hindu religion may well be defined to be "the Temple universal", as a champion of Hinduism puts it. But as Hinduism deals, in its lower forms, with ceremonials which are peculiarly its own though, in its higher aspect it deals with pure philosophy, I would define Hinduism to be that system of religion which has, for its basis, *Srutis*, *Smritis*, *Itihasas* and *Puranas*. Hence a Hindu is one who believes in the authenticity of the latter or is a follower of all or some of the doctrines and ceremonials sanctioned therein.

ITS BOOKS.

Srutis include not only the four Vedas now known to us, viz., the Rig, Yajur, Sama and Atharvana, but also the *Upanishads* and some *Brâhmanas* now extant. As regards these, it is the opinion of some that all the Vedas which were before in vogue have not been handed down to the people of this materialistic age. In this opinion, they are fortified by a statement in the *Puranas* that, at the end of every *Dwâpara Yuga*, a *Vyasa*—which name is given as an official designation to every individual who incarnates then for that work—is born amongst men to divide the Vedas into four—the Vedas which were formerly one. This is because almost all men, as the fourth or *Kali Yuga* sets in with all its long trail of woes and misery, become unworthy and dangerous custodians of the secrets contained in the Veda. Among a nation of very materialistic tendencies, any disclosure of the development of powers to the unscrupulous will but bring on the black art and ruin upon the community in general. This is the reason why the Vedas which in their state of oneness were voluminous were, in their opinion, condensed and portions of the same not likely to do mischief to the world were given out piecemeal in the form of the now existing four Vedas. This statement of theirs is corroborated by the fact that almost all the *Upanishads*, which are alleged to be a part of the Vedas and from which they were said to have been culled, cannot at present be traced to their source. Then as regards the books that treat of the Hindu's social life, ceremonials and rites, they are said to be 18 in number. Not only do the *Smritis* reckon the number 18, but also the *Puranas*. The authoritative of them is 18 only, though there are said to be 18 *Upa-Puranas* in addition. Of these, that which is acknowledged to be above all suspicion and without interpolation by the three important writers of Southern India

is the Vishnu Purana. Of course, the Itihasas include the Ramayana and the Mahabharata; the latter of them being dubbed the fifth Veda. On the authority of some commentators in India, it is urged that, wherever there are seeming differences between the above books, the books stated in the above order should have precedence over those coming after them. This, in my opinion, is a mere matter of expediency and not of principle. When once the sacred character and the authenticity of the above books are admitted, it is idle, in my opinion, to contend that, amongst them, one is superior to another or that one book in the lot may be flung aside as worthless in favour of another. This subject I introduce herein for the purpose of showing that people think they have done their duty as a Brahnavadin after a perusal of the Vedas and the Upanishads and not the rest of the books. From the authorities in our books, it is found that Itihasas and the Puranas have been written as explanatory of the Vedas, &c., and so as to suit the minds of persons lower in grade than Brahmins.

THE THREE DIVISIONS.

All these writings of the Hindus I shall dwell upon under three headings. There are three classes of persons in this world. First comes that class which sees things as they are in this world and is loath to be disturbed from that condition. It sees the wealth by which it is dazzled and derives pleasure from it. It sees its family around and discerns an Elysium in it. It sees sumptuous plenty all round it and rolls in it. No thought of the morrow, since there is nothing in its life to provoke that thought; no thought of a life beyond, since no accident mars its life; no satiation of the pleasures, since no poverty or pain attends it. On this infant soul were imposed some duties. It was not to be left undisturbed in that state, simply because it recognizes no life beyond, for it would be like letting a boy be without education in his youth, because he is not then convinced of its utility. Hence on this young soul were laid some responsibilities to bid it take note of a higher life. It was asked to perform daily not only its worldly, but also its religious avocations. The religious Karmas apprised it of beings above, such as Devas and others. Being asked to pay homage unto them, it begins to be informed of their existence and to think of them. With more and more of brooding over the same, some steps in the ladder of spiritual thought are

scaled. Then is the second stage reached, where it is partially a man of the world and partially a spiritual entity. Not yet has the full confidence of the Spirit within dawned on it. At times, the voice of the Spirit it hears admonishing it to take courage and not falter, to scale up to it and not despond; but along with the determination to obey the upward Voice, comes the downward pull from his lower passions, from his baser nature; and then the not-yet undaunted soul succumbs. It is in this second stage that men are contented with theoretical knowledge. They devour greedily the spiritual knowledge from the spiritual books; but the ravenous wolves of passions created by themselves stand in an array before the portals of the spirit, threaten their very flesh and lives and prevent their ingress. Thus has the second class of persons to be simply content with the study of the doctrines. They may then be fortunate enough to be now and then blessed with a flash of light from above with "the Voice of the Silence" whispering into their ears some sage counsels or admonitions in regard to their daily lives; but it can only be on the condition that a sincere effort is made by them to overcome the passions created by their own minds. Then comes the third stage when the disciple is prepared for practical teachings, when he will become a worthy recipient of spiritual teachings. Here knowledge, which before was merely theoretical in its nature, is reduced into practice. A person in this stage is not the half-hearted individual he was previously. He gives himself up solely to spiritual pursuits and becomes a true Sannyasin—completely renouncing all worldly things but yet working amidst them. To suit the requirements of these three classes of people, three things have been ordained in the religion of the Aryans. *viz.*, Karmas, Jnana and Vijnana.

KARMAS.

I shall first take Karmas or our religious observances. Here I use the word Karma in its restricted sense of religious actions. Karma in its generic sense means all actions, whether mental or physical. We have been crammed with Karmas. A net-work of Karmas has been binding us. We are literally soaked in them. Karmas await us at every turn of life. Why should this be so? Why not, like the Christians, allot a Sunday a holiday for communion with God or a morning to ask for

our daily bread? Why this eternal and ceaseless worry with Karmas, all the days of our life, it may be asked? Every act is assigned a spiritual nature by the Hindu religion. A Hindu takes food not for the mere purpose of gratifying his animal appetite, but for the purpose of subserving his Spiritual end. He invokes his Pranas or magnetic currents in himself to partake of the offerings made and give him more strength, more will to be of aid to humanity, to enable him to take one step more in his path to the goal. He prays for strength, not for the purpose of becoming a good gymnast or appearing well in the eyes of men, but to add one more to the number of steady and humble workers in the spiritual field. As thought is a potent factor in the mental world, it, associated with the religious performances of Mantras, serves the purpose of the transmutation of the baser thing into gold. For just turn over the leaves of Chhandoggya upanishad, and you will find the digested food, *viz.*, chyle, decomposed into three things, *Prithivi* (the solid), *Ap* the (liquid) and *Agni* (the fiery, such as oil, ghee, &c.). These three again are sub-divided threefold, of which the subtlest portions are said to go towards the upkeep of the mind, *Prana* (life) and *Vak* (speech). No matter whether the mind co-operates with eating or not, the law will assert itself and the three will nourish themselves with the materials above mentioned. But the quality of the materials will depend largely upon the attitude of the mind. If the mind is sound it will be furnished with such materials from the food as will conduce to the end required. There are many other Karmas which have to be explained and which cannot be explained in this brief article. Besides our daily Karmas, we have the occasional Karmas; we have our Yajnas; we have the temples; we have our other multitudinous ceremonies and rites and symbols. How are they to be explained? Some of our modern educated countrymen cannot be expected to reach the second stage and devote themselves to it. To them, cannot the initial stage of the spiritual path be open? But in order that they may have faith in them, we have to tell them the rationale of the Karmas. Otherwise they will not repose any faith in them. Those blessed old days are gone when things were taken on trust, when things were believed on the authority of the sacred scriptures or the great and holy men. Modern education has made us exercise our reasoning faculty to the utmost, to know the why and wherefore of everything. In this pass, if we go

and ask our orthodox pandits for the rationale of these Karmas, almost all treat an enquiry of this kind as heresy and do not vouchsafe a reply, probably because they have not been trained in this school of thought. In the sacred books themselves, no regular and *scriptum* explanation is given, but there are some clues in regard to some Karmas. As regards some others, no hint too is given. What shall we then do with reference to these Karmas? Shall we then sit with folded hands and do the very things, the generality of the old school men are pursuing? If so, we shall not be able to stem the tide of scepticism and shall not be able to make men perform the Karmas and give them a chance of improvement at a later stage at least. But it is argued by some "why not abolish Karmas?" They are mere outer things. Real progress is made by the mind. As Carlyle puts it, Karmas are the vestures of a religion. The majority of mankind cannot withstand cold without the help of dress. A few only can resist it through mental will. Even they will not like to fritter away their energies in an useless manner. Rather would they conserve their energy for the higher direction and put their coat on. The vestures made in the Hindu religion are strong and durable, and have been keeping at bay the external influences of many of our conquerors. They are not made of thin hardwares, woollen or cotton. They are made of Asbestos, moths and use have not rent them. The God Agni (fire) is not able to destroy them. The great devourer, or Kâla (time), has not yet been able to do away with them. But time in its revolutions has left some dirt on them. How is it to be purged off? Neither earth nor water can cleanse that garment, made of a substance midway between the mineral and the plants. It is the fire of knowledge alone that can remove the impurities off the asbestos vestures of our Karmas.

Thus if we go on trying to understand the rationale of our Karmas, we shall not only be able to convince the unbelievers, but also to lay the foundation for discerning the true Karmas from the false, to give up the mushroom growths of time in favour of those that conduce to our real spiritual progress. How is that to be done? Wherever some clues are given in our books, we can expand them in the light of our modern readings, science, philosophy and so on. Mesmerism or Spiritualism has given us many truths to ponder over. Why not take them up—take up those facts only which are indubitable, and apply them to our Karmas

and see how far they vindicate them and the brains of those who have promulgated them. Wherever no hints are thrown upon any Karma, look to the origin, the purpose for which it was instituted and the relationship it bears to our philosophy and, lo ! the truth will dawn on any enquiring mind. But are not such empirical methods subject to many errors ? Yes, they are. But which science or department of knowledge began with the bare truth at the beginning. No doubt many errors may creep in at first ; but yet the attempt has again and again to be made in order that errors may be eliminated gradually so that we shall have the bare truth before us. It is thus that we shall have to climb up unto truth. The path to it is not strewn with roses but with thorns. Whoever braves it is a real warrior. It is men of this kind of mettle that India is sadly in want of at present.

THEORETICAL KNOWLEDGE.

Having done with Karmas, I shall next deal with the second stage, *viz.*, Theoretical Knowledge. It should not be supposed that Karmas are superfluous in the case of these men as some suppose. Along with Karmas of the first stage, there must be super-added knowledge, knowledge of a theoretical nature. Karmas are performed by this class of men as aids to their progress in the way of training their reasoning faculties or thinking powers. In the first stage, men had to be elevated beyond the conception of the lower realm of the physical world and so were given some glimpses into the supersensuous worlds through the enumeration of the intelligences in them and the homage paid to them in our ceremonies. In the second stage, this hazy conception would not do ; hence they were asked to contemplate upon them mentally, so that, apart from the benefits which such duties may confer upon them, their thinking faculties may be improved by such practice. To take for instance the practice of early *Snanam* or bath. In the olden days it was usual to recite some Vedic Mantras, *Virat Apo*, &c., in favour of the deity presiding over the water prior to the bath, which custom is but rarely observed now by some orthodox men. This prayer is to invoke the deity of the waters to cleanse the mind, as its physical counterpart purifies the body. Through the intense concentration of the mind it is brought *en rapport* with the presiding deity Varuna, by means of the vibrations of the Mantras, just as the body is brought into contact with water, the vehicle of the

presiding deity, and purified by the same. It should be here borne in mind that, amongst Hindus, their religionists never made any real distinction between organic and inorganic, intelligent and non-intelligent beings; for in their eyes, all things, whether atoms or human beings, are permeated by life and intelligence, which are latent in some and patent in others in this physical world. Thus were all the Karinas observed by men in the second stage, no matter whether they were yajnas or other ceremonies. The Devatas in each of the Karinas were contemplated upon mentally, as they were performed physically. In this wise, did Karmas yield their beneficial results to persons who cared more for their intellectual progress. So that in this case, it was clearly incumbent upon them to understand the meaning as well as the rationale of the Karmas enacted; for otherwise the mental operation cannot be effectively carried on along with the physical. According to the law of Rhythm, the oftener a thing is repeated, the more insistent is its recurrence. Likewise whenever the Mantras were repeated concerning a certain ritual, the more recurrent became the mind's habit to contemplate and dwell upon the Devata of that Mantra, thus giving a habit of easy facility to the mind to improve its powers of thinking.

Leaving this prefatory part, I shall go into the departments of knowledge that form the subject of study herein. The departments of knowledge that were taught in olden days were manifold and various. In the first chapter of the seventh Prapâtaka of Cihandoggya Upanishad, we find a long catalogue of them enumerated besides the Srutis, Smritis, Itihasas and Puranas. In reply to the question of Sanat Kumara, Nârada mentions, besides the above, grammar, the different sciences of articulation, archery, astronomy &c. Here even the Smritis which are now classed with the Srutis do not find their place. The four Vedas, the Itihasas and the Puranas head the list, of which the Itihasas are reckoned as the Panchama Veda or the fifth Veda, referring to the Mahabarata which is so considered, as is evident from the book itself.

Discarding from our present consideration, those books which are more of a temporal nature, and even the Smritis and the Brâhmana portion of the Vedas which treat of the rituals and such like and have therefore been dealt with under the first heading, we shall now devote our attention to the departments of

knowledge embraced under the Samhitas, the Upanishads, the Itihasas and the Puranas as mentioned in the above Upanishad. As regards the Samhitas, we find they are nothing but a collection of Hymns addressed to the Sun, the Moon, Varuna, Agni, Indra and other deities. Are we to consider them, as some Orientalists urge, as so many imbecile flashes that had emanated from the primitive brains of some creatures of the antediluvian period who, when they emerged out of their caves of darkness and gloom, were be-dazzled by the lustre of the Sun and others and so began to consider them as so many immortals that should be worshipped? Shall we, the Hindus, be, like rooks, cawing the same sound and say that they were "the babblings of an infant race?" Shall we not dive deeper into our books and find the still deeper secrets that are to be found therein? No doubt some palliation exists, an excuse may be invented to account, for the misconception of those men of the West who judge of us and our writings, not as they are, but as they think them to be from their Oxford chairs, but it is simply ridiculous on our part to re-echo the same and fall into the very blunder which English culture wants us to avoid, *viz.*, not using our reasoning faculty and thinking for ourselves. Can the Orientalists of the West shew us one nation on the whole surface of the globe who, in their embryonic stages of development, have produced a master language and a voluminous literature, like the Vedas, with such rhythmic, solemn and awe-inspiring cadence, uttered with the proper intonation so as to thrill the hearts of those who hear them. Blinded as they were by the love of their own Biblical chronology and the reluctance to accede to anything beyond their own knowledge, they gave out their own *bona fide* opinions. But as this is a wide subject, I shall not enter into it fully here.

The three chief reasons which, in my opinion, seem to have made them come to the conclusions they did about the Vedas are (1) that the Vedas were written at a time when humanity was, according to them, in their primitive stages. (2) that the natural forces are represented as intelligent ones, (3) that there is nothing underlying the Vedas except their surface meaning.

As regards the first objection, I am not here able to adduce all arguments in favour of the Hindu theory that the evolution of the Hindu race had been going on for numberless millenniums ere the historical records as known to the West. Suffice it for me here to point out that the Hindu books do clearly testify to such

a fact and to great spiritual men having incarnated to give an impetus to the evolution of the Hindu race in its incipient growth.

The second objection is based upon the ignorance of the Hindu doctrine that all the so-called inorganic matter has its inevitable counterpart of intelligence to propel it.

As regards the third objection, if the value of the Vedas depend upon the mere ability of the old writers to compose some hymns in favour of the elements &c., personified, even that, as I said before, evinces a great power on the part of men in their nascent growth. But it is not only so. The great personages who incarnated in this beloved land of Aryavarta descended into this earth for the purpose of formulating to them and all succeeding generations a systematised code of lofty ethics, philosophy and so on. These men who are called Manus, Prajapatis, Rishis and so on composed hymns containing certain Swaras or Rhythmic vibrations to control the intelligent forces of nature which have also their own rhythmic vibrations, just as all objects are said by modern science to possess them and to differ through their different rates. And this is the reason why great importance and sacredness are attached to the repetition of the Vedas. The Brahmins were taught to repeat the Vedas in various intonations, in Jata, Pada, Krama, &c., because they believed great efficacy lay in the getting by rote of them and repeating them in a certain modulated tone. But the Western orientalists attribute this rigid custom of Vedic intonation to the circumstance that in the olden times writing was unknown to them and hence they were asked to commit them to memory. They urge that writing was unknown to them before the days of Panini. This is a very debatable ground. Even were it a fact, I do not know why a nation which wanted merely to preserve them orally from destruction resorted to different kinds of intonations, and why, after the days of Panini when the writing came into existence amongst us, it is still carried on, and why such an institution is held in great sanctity? Why should our orthodox pundits consider them as mere Mantras productive of results through their mere repetition? If it is a mere relic of former times now continued, then what is the interpretation that we are to put upon such statements by Veda Vyasa in the Mahabharata as that a true Brahmin is not allowed to speak on sacred occasions in any language other than the Divine Bhâsha, *viz.*,

the Sanskrit, or to utter Sanskrit Mantras in their translated or other forms.

ITIHASAS AND PURANAS.

I shall deal with the Upanishads last. Under the class of Itihasas come the Mahabharata and the Ramayana; the Vishnu Purana comes under the head of the Puranas. The Mahabharata and the Vishnu Purana are considered to be the authoritative ones and are largely quoted by the three commentators in Southern India. The Mahabharata, according to Chhandoggya Upanishad, is referred to as the Panchama Veda or the fifth Veda. Vyasa himself says thus in it that "By the light of Itihasas and Puranas, the Vedas have to be interpreted." But do we do the same? We find no sort of connection apparently existing between the four Vedas and this fifth one? Why? Because we do not try to construe the former properly? Because we do not read the latter in that light? Those who spend their time in metaphysics find the latter repellent in many places to common sense. Others who go into the same, read it for the purpose of its cock and bull stories, never caring for its underlying truths. They disclose, in my opinion, manifold truths in the regions of Anthropology, Cosmology, Biology and Sociology, which truths will throw light not only upon the many vexed questions of modern research, but also upon the unmeaning passages in the Vedas, for which they were intended. Thereby we shall be amplifying our field of research—our field of knowledge, so as to be of use to ourselves and humanity in general instead of confining ourselves to Vedanta merely. Even our notions of Vedanta will be clarified and our basic foundations rendered secure, ere we begin to scale the lofty heights of the highest metaphysical region.

Apart from our making Puranas and the Mahabharata an useful source of knowledge, we shall be able to turn the many followers of Anthropology, &c., into a study of Vedanta. All have not, in the beginning, the courage and the bent of mind to take a dip into its metaphysical depths. Each person has to be led up to the Vedanta, the highest field of thought, through his own path. A biologist who is engaged in his own special field will not be prepared to at once take a leap into the abstruse regions of metaphysics, unless he is shewn how, with his materialistic notions, he will not be able to solve the question of life by making the mere protoplasms, the generators of life. Take the protoplasm for

instance. They are said by modern men to be the source of life. They are small specks of substances found in bodies akin to the white of an egg. Each protoplasm is said to have a gyratory motion in itself. If so whence is this motion? Moreover, these protoplasms when chemically analysed are found to be the same, whether they are found in the bodies of men or animals. Now the questions are; (1) if the protoplasms are chemically identical in different bodies, how are we to account for the differentiations of the heterogeneous bodies of animals and men, or, in other words, why not human protoplasm generate a beast's body or the *vice versa*? (2) whence did the gyratory motion in the protoplasms arise, if they are to be considered to be the primal centers of life? These are questions hard to be answered by the light of a purely materialistic Biology. Hence it is that the Puranas and the Upanishads elevate the real cause to the supersensuous regions and attribute it to the Pranas which have their differentiations from the One. Take again a question of Anthropology. Was humanity monogenetic or polygenetic? Was there a primal pair only like Adam and Eve to give origin to the multitudinous pairs now existing or were there many pairs at first? The first position of Christian Theologians has been given up by almost all the Anthropologists on the ground of their experience that pairs of the same blood when mated together become, in the long run, sterile. If there were many pairs at first, how were they brought into existence? This is a hard nut for the modern to crack; but our Puranas, in consonance with Vedanta and not at variance with it, as the different departments of modern knowledge are even when they treat of the same subject, state that there was no beginning to creation; and that hence the monads had no beginning. The differentiation of males and females did not exist from the very beginning. Like plants and others, there were stages when humanity had a body which evinced no sex; then it developed into a stage when the marks of both sexes were found in one and the same body; then into the stage which we now witness. As nature ever moves in a cycle, the human body will ultimately become sexual or sexless, passing through the intermediate stage of hermaphrodite. These stages are allegorically put forth in the guise of stories and parables in our Puranas and the Mahabharata. And is it not the duty of us, true Hindus, to work in this field also and to not only vindicate their utility but also to compel, as it were, biologists, anthropologists

and others to resort to Vedanta without which no proper explanations will be forthcoming in their own departments of knowledge? I hope later on to enter into them and then show as far as I can how vast mines can be unearthed in these strata of knowledge. In the olden days, keys did exist by which the Puranas were unravelled, but they have now disappeared. Of late, some of them have been vouchsafed to us; and it matters not who the person is that gave them out to the world. All that I wish to press upon the readers' minds is the truth which can be drawn in the light of those keys, not from one source alone in the Puranas, but from the books as a whole. Here in the Hindu religion is a vast vista of thought opened out for an enquiring mind.
